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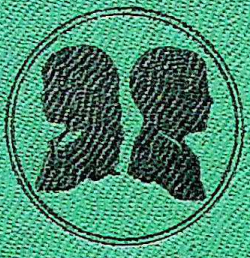

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ASIA

Arctic Ocean
Franz Josef Land
Severnaya Zemlya
Svalbard
Barents Sea
Kara Sea
Laptev Sea
East Siberian Sea
New Siberian Islands
Wrangel Is.
Novaya Zemlya
Siberia
Europe
U. S. S. R.
Yeniseysk
Minusinsk
Irkutsk
L. Baikal
Bering Sea
Sea of Okhotsk
Atiu
Aleutian Is.
Sakhalin Is.
Kuril Is.
ALTAI
L. Balkhash
Urga
MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
Aral Sea
Caucasus
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
ARMENIA
Gobi
Ordos
Turfan
SINKIANG
Khiva
Bukhara
Samarkand
Sea of Japan
Istanbul
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CHINA
Harappa
TIBET
Lhasa
Nanking
Shanghai
Kyushu Is.
JORDAN
Basra
Luristan
Persian Gulf
Isfahan
Baluchistan
Rajputana
Himalaya Mts.
NEPAL
BHUTAN
Ryukyu Is.
TAIWAN (FORMOSA)
Medina
SAUDI ARABIA
Mecca
Red Sea
PAKISTAN
Sind
Delhi
Benares
Canton
Hong Kong
Gujarat
Calcutta
PAK.
BURMA
Pagan
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
Ajanta
INDIA
Hyderabad
Bay of Bengal
Arabian Sea
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Hadramaut
OMAN
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Mariana Is.
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Caroline Is.
Marshall Is.
Gilbert Is.
South China Sea
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MALAYA
CELEBES
BORNEO
SUMATRA
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NETH. NEW GUINEA
TERR. OF NEW GUINEA
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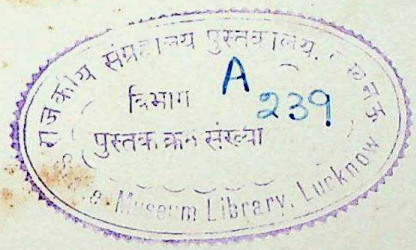

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HELEN RUBISSOW

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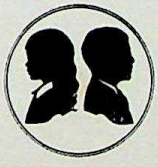

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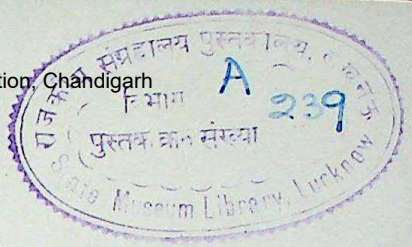

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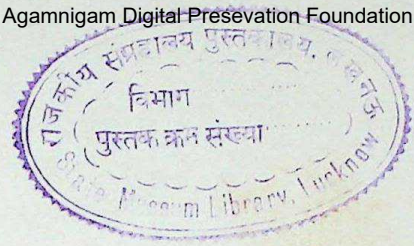

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THE PROBLEM OF ORIGIN

GOBI DESERT. . . . This name at once brings to the mind's eye a map of Asia, and right in its center a section painted yellow, inscribed "Gobi." Then we imagine endless stretches of sand, with here and there a patch of saltwort, blistering heat or penetrating cold; dried river beds, thirst, and, perhaps, high in the sky, a mirage showing a ridge of snow-capped mountains rich with water, timber, and fowl. Not a human do we envisage, not an animal, nothing but waves of yellow sand and crests of bare reddish rock. In this sea of sand, like a rare ship, a low sandy mound occasionally appears.

The Russian explorer, P. Kozlov, who directed the Mongol-Tibetan expedition of the Leningrad Academy of Science in 1925 excavated one such sandy mound not far from the ruins of the ancient city of Khara-Khoto. Upon completion of the work, there stood, in place of the mound, a platform crowned with a group—some twenty in number—of clay statues with gilded faces, representing people of majestic appearance, seated in an attitude of prayer.

Who were these people an unknown artist modeled out of pliant, yet so durable, clay? To what race did they belong, these people who lived on the shores of the river whose dry bed lies at the foot of the mound? Once this river, fed by many tributaries, may have flowed through luxurious green gardens. On the waves, near the shore bloomed the white and the pink lotus—the sacred flower of Asia.

The legends of Asia tell us that long, long ago, where the desert now is, there existed a great and flourishing country, which perished in a catastrophic sand storm. Today the Gobi inhabitants, a handful of nomads, believe that some of these ancient people managed to save themselves somewhere underground, and it is said that occasionally human beings can be seen emerging from the sand, and that the crowing of roosters can be heard.[1]

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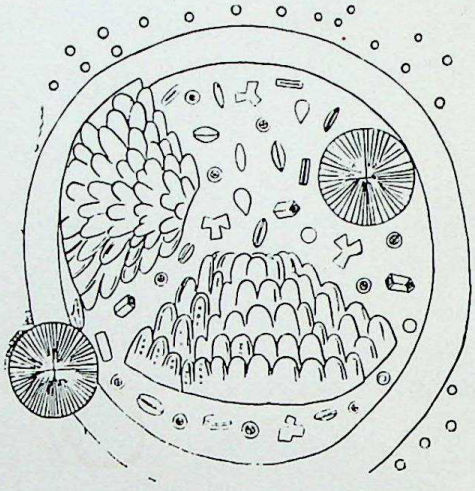
The tree of the science of history is entwined with the ivy of myth. Yet the tools of the archaeologist partly confirm the legends. The objects of art found in the deep layers of the earth clearly bespeak the growth and decline of ancient civilizations which perished, often without leaving us a clue to their origins and development.



1. Detail of a Kyzil-Caves Painting.
From: A. Grünwedel, "Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesischen Turkestan"; G. Reimer, 1912.

Where shall we look for the beginnings of civilization? The debate on this subject is in full swing and we do not know whether it will ever bring forth a solution. We do not know whether the human being appeared simultaneously in different parts of the earth, or if some single center served as the cradle of mankind. That "cradle of civilization" is located, according to the different scholars, in various parts of the world: in Central Asia, in the Caucasus, on the islands of Polynesia, in Africa, and elsewhere. But all these theories are so far no more than working hypotheses—stages on the road toward a hoped-for solution of the riddle.

Actually, neither do we know what we shall find some day—if the day of discovery ever comes—of the beginning of civilization: an anthropoid ape or the highly developed Adam, who, as Scripture states, "gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air,

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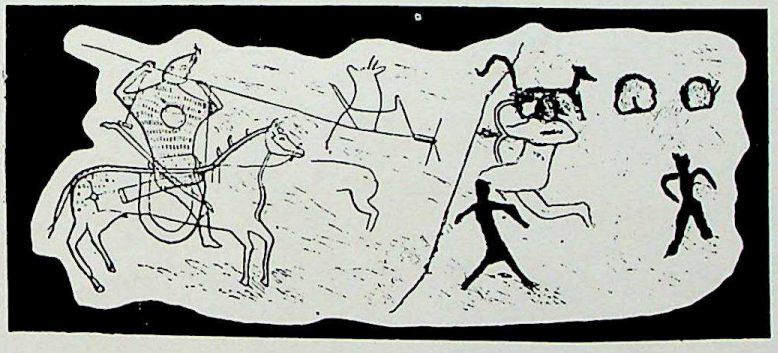
and to every beast of the field," but for whom among the animals "there was not found an help meet."

The fact that there did exist an ape-like human may not exclude the possibility that there had existed before him—perhaps somewhere on an unknown continent now submerged by a universal cataclysm—a "superman" who had perfect command of the chisel and the brush, built palaces and temples. It is perhaps even possible that they existed simultaneously, the "descendants of human beings" and the "descendants of animals."

We are far from the answers which would cast light upon the dark abyss of the past. Our modest task is to trace as best we can, the art of the peoples of Asia, regarded for a long time as the oldest continent, in the hope of coming upon some trail. While touching upon other forms of art, we have selected painting, perhaps the oldest art form, for our guide.



2. Rock-Picture from Soulek, Turfan.
From: Appelgren-Kivalo, "Alt-Altaische Kunstdenkmäler," Helsingfors, 1889.

Mankind's most authentic record is his art. Like Tom Thumb, the wise little boy of the fairy-tale who threw pebbles to mark his path for those who would follow him later, so man of history and pre-history marked his path with the works of his art. Cataclysms struck, sweeping peoples together with their civilizations off the earth. But not all perished. Floods did not reach the mountain tops. Sandstorms did not penetrate into subterranean caves. And there, in these inaccessible places, careful hands concealed

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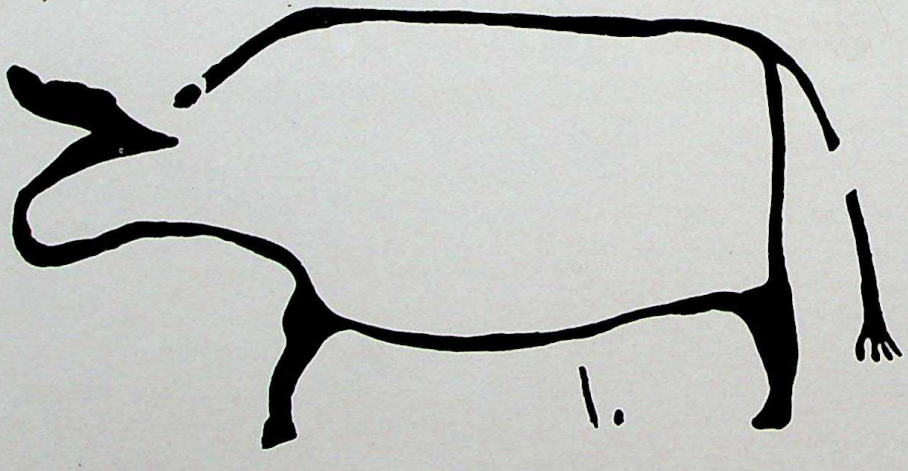
the precious memorials of the past. Fragments of lost civilizations did survive. The sands of the deserts, and the deep layers of the earth preserved them jealously in their recesses. As the poet said:

> Were but your bosom forced to open
> O earth, O earth, how much we'd find
> In the remains, in dusty layers,
> Of priceless treasure in dark's abyss.[2]

But the noble science of archaeology demands not only the disinterested self-sacrifice of the surgeons of the earth; it demands tremendous expenditures of funds—not always forthcoming—if it is to keep abreast of the discoveries in industrial sciences which deal with contemporary material needs. And it seems possible that the energy released from the atom, rather than help us to penetrate into the deepest recesses of the earth which conceal perhaps the key to civilization's origin, will soon bring a new cataclysm upon mankind. Then, the register of lost civilizations will be enlarged by yet another item—our own. And the new caveman will start all over again on the wild rocks of Manhattan. . . .

The Prehistoric Period[3]



3. A Bull. Rock-Picture from Shishkino, Northern Siberia.
From: A. P. Okladnikoff, "Drevnevshie Naskalnie Izobrajenia Severnoi Azii," "Sovietskaya Archeologuia" XI, 1949.

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Stone Age

Paleolithic (Old Stone) Age:	500,000-20,000 B.C.
Mesolithic (Middle Stone) Age:	20,000-12,000 B.C.
Neolithic (New Stone) Age:	12,000- 3,000 B.C.

Civilization not only existed as early as the Paleolithic Age, but its characteristics were similar throughout Europe and Asia (and perhaps the world over). For instance, in the hamlet of Aurignac in the French Pyrenees a statuette of the Paleolithic Age which the discoverers named "The Aurignacian Venus" was found. A closely resembling statuette was also found in the environs of Krasnoyarsk in Siberia; and not a few other "Aurignacian Venuses" have been found—no doubt many more still remain underground —in the course of many excavations in Europe and Asia.

Surprisingly, the art of the Paleolithic Age (which has been studied more closely in Europe than in Asia) was of a very high order. Such exceptional examples as the paintings and sculptures in the grottoes of Lascaux, Le Mas, Font-de-Gaume in France, or Altamira in Spain, bespeak the high technical skill of the Paleolithic artist. The best modern painter of animals may well envy the precision and artistry of his stroke, the expressiveness of his figures, the mastery of his form. Whence the creative genius of Paleolithic artists, who according to anthropologists were not far above the ape? It is one of the riddles of prehistory.

In the Neolithic Age there also existed in Asia some sort of uniform civilization of which we know very little. We do not know who built the dolmens in England, Korea, Southern India, Trans-Jordania, the Caucasus, and many other places. Nor are we acquainted with the master potters who portrayed simple and austere geometrical designs on clay vessels found in the excavations of deep strata in Susa (Iran), Anau (Russian Turkestan), northern China, Korea, Japan, etc. These vessels are so similar that they hint at the existence of a homogeneous Neolithic civilization throughout Asia. This culture seemingly carried in itself, or mothered the great historic cultures of yore, which, in their turn, either nourished or greatly influenced our present civilization.

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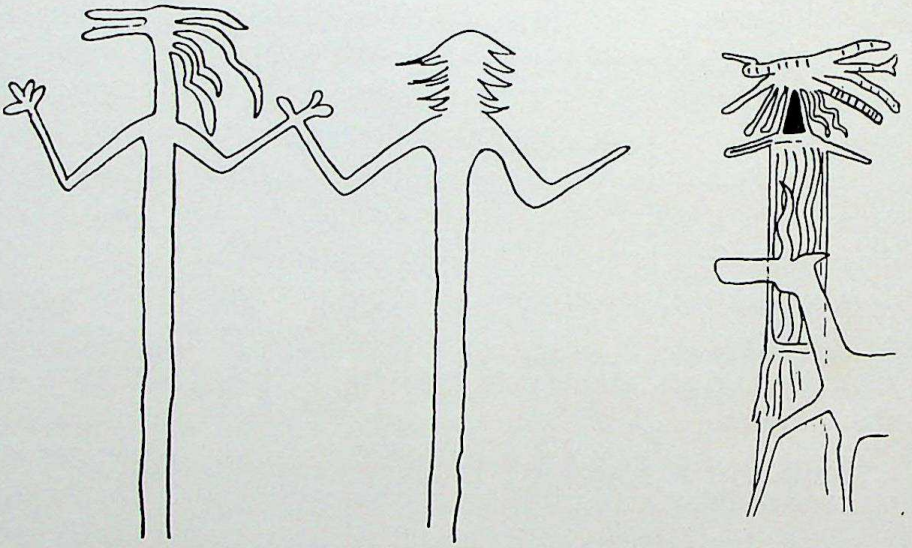
INDIA

Sites of Neolithic settlements were discovered in northwest India, where flints and Neolithic artifacts were present.[4] Paintings were found on the walls of mountain caves in central India, in the Mahadeo Hills, in the Koshangabad District, farther east and north-east in the State of Raigarh, and the Districts of Mirzapur and Banda. A number of scholars attributed some of these paintings as, for instance, a painting of a deer in a cave-shelter at Adam Garh, to the Stone Age. However, the question of dating them is still unsolved.

4. Mahadeo Hills Rock-Pictures.



a b

a. Early 1st series, from Jambu Dwip. b. Early 2nd series, from Monte Rosa. From: "The Rock Paintings of the Mahadeo Hills," by D. H. Gordon. "Indian Art and Letters," 1936.

D. H. Gordon who examined the paintings of the Mahadeo Hills in 1932 divides them both artistically and culturally into five successive art series, of which "the late third and early fourth mark the highest point of Indian cave art."[5]

It is interesting to note that the paintings of the early first series

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of which Gordon speaks are highly stylized. As he observes, "There is a tendency to regard it as axiomatic that conventionalized forms are derived from more naturalistic ones; in this case, there are no earlier paintings of a more naturalistic style."[6] There are "some diagrammatical figures, probably stylized representations, the origin of which it is impossible to guess; they are carried out in dark red on cream. A transition period shows square-shaped figures in pinkish red. . . ."[7]

On these paintings of the first, as well as of the second and early third, periods often appear figures of men with animal heads—probably masks; these men seem to be performing some ceremony. The figure of a "Sorcerer" with horns and a tail, is framed in an oval apparently formed by a branch with leaves.

Among the paintings of the Monte Rosa caves, D. H. Gordon recognizes a "Gilgamesh figure, a cult hero in his role as 'Protector of the herds' subduing a lion and a wild bull, while the herd passes peacefully below. . . ."[8] "Here, I am afraid," adds Gordon, "is a direct incentive to the use of that overworked term 'Indo-Sumerian'."

The animals represented on the paintings of the caves of the Mahadeo Hills are: the sambur (the earliest of such pictures), stag, doe, elephant, tiger, panther, monkey, bear, wild boar, crocodile, peacock, jungle cock, hare and fish.

"A curious feature," Gordon points out, "is the absence of the snake; not one instance has been recorded in a religious or any other context."[9]

And yet, the snake plays a prominent role in Hindu folklore. It is the distinguishing attribute of its favorite figure Naga, the Serpent-Man. Legends tell us that in some immeasurable past these Serpent-Men swam to India from some faraway place. Both *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata,* two great Hindu epic poems, speak about the Nagas; and even Buddhist legends mention them. The art of India (with the exception of the art of the Vedic period which followed the appearance in India of the Aryans who at first were not familiar with the representations of Nagas) abounds with representations of Nagas. Sometimes they are represented

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with the head or the tail of a serpent; more often they are pictured as beautiful and strong men and women whose head-dresses are decorated with a serpent—usually the five-headed cobra. Or, the cobra is placed in a protective attitude, the inflated neck and the umbrella-fan of its five or six heads forming a sort of halo for the head of the Naga, behind the Naga man or woman. Occasionally a picture of the Nagaraja (Naga prince) is combined with the representation of a winged and feathered serpent which resembles the Chinese dragon (as well as the feathered serpent of Central America, the ancient Quetzalcoatl of the Mayas). It seems possible, and even probable, that the Nagas were a tribe or a group of people whose emblem was a serpent, just as the people of the United States have for their emblem the eagle, and the British Empire the lion,[10] and that the Nagarajas exercised power some time previous to the Aryan conquest. However, written records are lacking and the Nagas remain a legend.

Fantastic as the legends about the Nagas might seem, no less fantastic did the archaeological finds, made in 1922 by the Indian Archaeologist R. D. Banerji, appear. They revealed the existence in the Indus Valley of a prehistoric and highly developed civilization dated about the third millennia B.C. These excavations of the ancient city in Mohenjo-Daro, about 125 miles to the north of Hyderabad, in the province of Sind, were undertaken by the government of India. Rich results were yielded also by the excavations at Jukarjo-Daro in the environs of Larcana, and at Harappa 450 miles to the north of Mohenjo-Daro in the Punjab. They revealed remnants of a common civilization.

The ancient culture of Sind and the Punjab designated by the names "Sindian," "Indus Valley," or "Harappa" civilization was in full bloom as early as the third millennium B.C. Why and how did it perish? "We are still ignorant alike of the beginning and the end of those great cities."[11]

Mohenjo-Daro, which means "Mound of the Dead," represents the ruins of several cities built one on top of the other. Traces of at least two catastrophes were found as well as evidence of devastation by human hand, one city destroyed by fire and sword.

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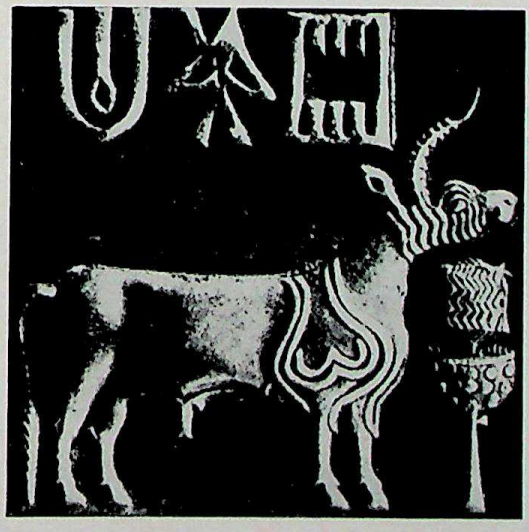
The plan of one of these cities, the structural details of its buildings, and its water supply are on a comparable level with our modern technique and surpass by far the skill of contemporary builders in Mesopotamia and Egypt. For instance, one of the buildings is a splendid bath probably used for ritualistic purposes. After 5000 years it still holds water well. Neither sculptured decorations nor paintings of any kind have been found on the walls of the houses. This brings them closer to the style of Mesopotamian builders who preferred a plain unadorned wall surface, in contrast to the builders and artists of India who covered every free space with bas-reliefs. It is possible, however, that if bas-reliefs did exist at Mohenjo-Daro, they were made of less durable material and did not survive the destructive effects of the elements and man.

In the excavations of Mohenjo-Daro miniature sculptures in marble, alabaster, and porcelain were found, also metal objects of gold, silver, copper and bronze. The jewelry is in no way inferior to the work of the best jewelers of our day. Especially interesting are the inscribed seals of metal, porcelain, and ivory decorated with symbolic representations of animals. The inscriptions which resemble the writings of the early Sumerians have not yet been deciphered. A figure often repeated on these seals is the unicorn



5. Steatite Seal from Mohenjo-Daro.
From: Sir John Marshall "Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization" A. Probstein, 1932.

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standing by an unidentified object resembling a chalice on a high stem.

Here we find the remote ancestor of the graceful bearded half-bullock, half-kid, one of the favorite figures which artists dedicated to the beautiful "Lady" of the Middle Ages, and immortalized on famous French tapestries. The representation of the unicorn on the seals of Mohenjo-Daro is often replaced by that of an elephant or a bull standing by the same chalice-like object and surrounded with writings. On one of the seals we find representations of the Nagas kneeling before a figure seated on a cubic pedestal, probably a Divinity.

Both plain and painted pottery was found in Mohenjo-Daro in great quantities. In the lower strata was found incised as well as "combed"[12] ware.

But most astonishing of the Sind and Punjab finds were three stone statues: a soapstone bust of a man in rich attire, covered with white paste and painted, found in Mohenjo-Daro; a dancing woman made of grey stone and a male torso of red stone found in Harappa. The masterly technique and perfection of anatomic detail of the statues are in no way inferior to the technic of the Golden Age of Greece. It is significant that at first the discoverers considered them Hellenistic, and they were startled when archaeological evidence established that these objects of art belonged to an early indigenous civilization of the Indus Valley. Many statuettes of marble, alabaster, terracotta, porcelain and bronze were also found. Of these, a large number are toys very "modernistic" in style.

Who were the people whose children played with these artistically executed "modernistic" toys of 5000 years ago? The skulls and skeletons found in the Sind show that they belonged to various races among whom the Austroloids and the Mediterraneans predominated.[13] On the other hand, a comparison of Indus art, especially of the animal representations on the cylinder-seals of Mohenjo-Daro, with the ancient Sumerian and pre-Sumerian art of Mesopotamia reveals such a similarity of cultures, that the ancient culture of the Indus Valley is often called "Indo-Sumerian."

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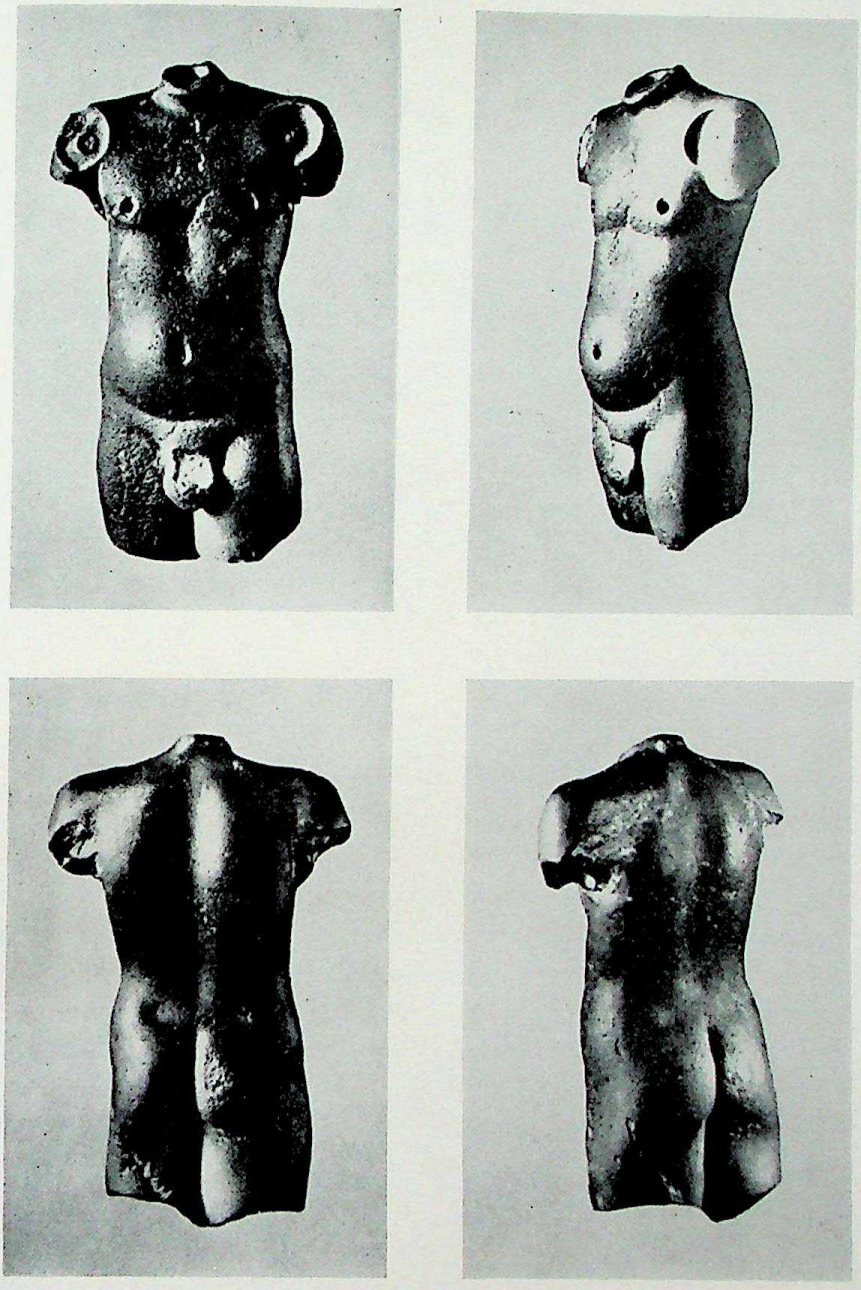

6. Statuette from Harappa.

From: "Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization" edited by Sir John Marshall, 1922–1927. Copyright Government of India, by permission of Arthur Probstein.

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They also have a link in religion in their worship of the Mother Goddess. At the same time, early Indus culture contains, often in fully developed form, elements prefiguring the later art of India.

The Aryans (Vedic Period)
(1500 – 700 B.C.)

The existence of the very high pre-Aryan culture of Sind disproves the commonly accepted theory that the "Aryan Civilizers" were the first to bring culture to the aboriginal "barbarians" of India.

The Aryans, who came down from the mountains of Hindu Kush and Afghanistan into India in about 1500 B.C., allegedly brought with them the knowledge of iron. In battle their warriors used two-wheeled light chariots drawn by horses which were driven by special charioteers. The strength of these newcomers lay in their vigorous physique, the simplicity of their mores, and their tribal discipline.

The Aryan immigration into India was at first probably a peaceful infiltration and only later became a "conquest." The local population was partly subjugated and partly forced out and emigrated, supposedly, to the south. The character of the indigenous culture gradually changed, acquiring many elements of Iranic origin judging by Vedic texts,[13a] which represent the chief source of information about that epoch subsequently called "Vedic."

Although existing archaeological data already seem to shed light on the ways of Aryan migration,[14] they are still insufficient to allow us to speak about Vedic art on archaeological grounds. Some terracotta statuettes,[15] attributed to the Vedic period, belong, as was later found, to the later Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan periods.[15a]

The Vedic epoch was a period of transition, of assimilation and the amalgamation of races and cultures. It lasted, broadly, until the birth of Buddhism—the new religion whose colossal spiritual impact welded into a single whole the different elements of various religions, traditions, and civilizations.

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The Buddhist Art in India
(About 500 B.C. – 300 A.D.)

Prince Siddhartha Gautama (Buddha) was the son of a king of the Sakya tribe which lived in Northern India (Kapilavastu, the capital of the province inhabited by the Sakyas, was located 100 miles to the north of Benares). Legend states that at the hour of his miraculous birth (in the blossoming garden of Lumbini, out of the right hip of the Queen Mother Maya Devi) the world was overwhelmed with great joy. The blind regained their sight, hunchbacks straightened out, and the mute began to talk. Polluted waters became pure, wicked people "received kindness into their hearts." The air was filled with divine music. And the Naga kings came to pay homage to the newly born Bodhisattva.

Siddhartha was born in 563 B.C. The year 528 B.C. is called "the year of Enlightenment";[16] and the year 483 B.C. is the year of death, of departure into the Nirvana of Eternal Bliss. These three events in the life of Gautama Buddha, (the Enlightened) together with the fourth, his first sermon to the people ("Turning of the Wheel of Law") became the main themes of Buddhist religious art. "Jatakas," the past lives of Buddha, (in accordance with the doctrine of reincarnation) were the other favorite subjects of Buddhist artists.

We know the place and date of Buddha's birth, thanks to King Asoka the Great of the Maurya dynasty (322–185 B.C.), who erected on the site of Buddha's birthplace a column with explanations inscribed. Asoka who ascended the throne in 264 B.C.[17] united India, which until then had consisted of a multitude of small independent and mutually hostile states. In the ninth year of his reign Asoka became a convert to Buddhism, and made it the state religion of India. Zealous disciple and apostle of Buddhism, Asoka marked the site of Buddha's first sermon with a memorial monument, the Stupa of Sarnath.[18] On the place of Enlightenment, near the sacred tree Bo a shrine was erected which gradu-

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ally grew into the temple Bodh-Gaya, the greatest Buddhist sanctuary.

The Buddhist religious-philosophical system is highly spiritual and designates all sensual experience as "The Great Illusion" (Maya). But early Buddhist art notwithstanding embellished the temples with exuberant images of the beauty of this illusory world, for the sacred purpose of recounting Buddha's life and teaching, and beautifying of Buddhist monuments.

A good example of this art can be found on the four gates of the Sanchi Stupa with their symbolic figures of dryads (Yaksis), and sacred animals representing Buddha's earlier incarnations.[19] Artists created symbolic representations of animals figuring in the Jatakas because Buddhism forbade representations of the material, "illusory," human shell of Gautama. Symbols were also devised to picture the four great moments of Buddha's life. The blossom of the lotus denoted his birth; the tree, Bo, and an empty seat denotes his Enlightenment; a wheel, his first sermon; a stupa, his departure into Nirvana.

Buddhist artists for several centuries were prohibited from representing Buddha in human form. But gradually the desire "to see" the image of their beloved teacher gained the upper hand. By the first century of our era representations of Gautama Buddha and Buddhist saints in the guise of human beings began to appear. At first, forms created in the past for other purposes served as models. For instance, the Yaksa of early pre-Buddhist art appears to be the prototype of the Mathura school images in the first century A.D., which in their turn, were the main source of later Gupta art magnificently represented in the frescos of the Ajanta caves. On the other hand in the so-called Greco-Buddhist art, Buddha's image was modelled after the Greek God Apollo.[20]

Greco-Buddhist Art in India

The existence in Asia of a Greco-Buddhist tradition and a school of art is usually connected with the campaigns and conquests of Alexander the Great (334–327 B.C.) although the road to India

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had been known by merchants and adventurers long before the conquests of Alexander.

Alexander was not only a warrior, but also a pupil of Aristotle. In his entourage he maintained a staff of scientists and artists who were instrumental in giving impetus to the further penetration of Greek culture in Asia. At that time an influential Greek school of sculpture and painting may have been founded in Bactria which became the local center for the spread of Greek influence on the soil of Asia. Nonetheless, let us recall the naturalistic sculptures of Mohenjo-Daro of the third millennium B.C. of which Sir John Marshall states:

> This anatomical truth is so startling, that it makes us wonder whether, in this all-important matter, Greek artistry could possibly have been anticipated by sculptors of a far-off age on the banks of the Indus?

Would it be far-fetched to consider these sculptures the dormant seeds for the Greco-Buddhist art awaiting their fruition?

Greco-Buddhist art shows less of purely decorative elements characteristic of the pictorial representations of the Orient and more interest in the experience of human life; for example, in the stuccos of Hadda there is rich emotional expressiveness. Compared with the art of Greece and Rome, Greco-Buddhist art seems more spiritual, permeated with religious idealization, a fiery "striving toward spirit," reminiscent of the efflorescence of the later gothic art of Europe.

Rich material for the study of Greco-Buddhist art was yielded by the excavations in Taxila, Peshawar, and Hadda. Among the sculptures of Hadda of great interest are heads of the "soldiers of Mara." In the guise of the army of the Prince of Demons they represent "barbarian" types: the neighboring peoples of Afghanistan and Central Asia, arrivals from the mountains, steppes and deserts. The heads are astonishingly expressive, with sharply rendered characteristic traits.

The center of Greco-Buddhist art was in the northwestern province of Gandhara which occupied parts of the Punjab and Afghanistan. The influence of the Gandhara School[21] spread

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widely. It can be discerned in the bas-reliefs of Rowak, and in the figurines of Tumsuk in Oriental Turkestan, and also in the art of China during the Wei dynasty, and later, through the transmission by Wei artists in the Japanese art of Nara.

Greco-Buddhist art enjoyed an epoch of extraordinary blossoming during the reign of the Scytho-Parthian dynasty of Kushan, particularly under the greatest of its Kings, Kanishka (144–172 A.D.)[22] who became a zealous Buddhist.

The Kushan Empire at the beginning of our era, (first-third centuries) was comprised of the steppes near Aral, part of Afghanistan, and the north of India. It served as a meeting ground for the varied traditions of Greece, Iran, India and Central Asia. This conglomeration of influences is reflected in its art. Sculptures and paintings of this complex and interesting "Scytho-Indian" branch of the Greco-Buddhist art were found in the cave-temples of Bamian (in Afghanistan) which was an important trading post on the Caravan route under the Kushans. The temples themselves had probably been hewn out of the rock at an earlier time but were decorated at a later date. Two colossal statues of Buddha, 120 and 125 feet high respectively, hewn in the living rock were also discovered.

The Gandhara school existed for a long time after the fall of the Kushan Empire,[23] but the main centers of Greco-Buddhist art then moved to the more remote areas of Central Asia, such as Kutcha, Karashar, Turfan or Dandan Uluk.[24] In Gandhara itself the style gradually changed in keeping with national forms of Indian art and by the time of the Huns' invasion in the fifth century Greco-Buddhist art became dormant in Gandhara.

Epoch of the Gupta Dynasty and the Art of Ajanta

Parallel with the Gandhara school, another influential school of art existed in Muttra (Mathura) on the southern tip of the Kushan Empire. It flourished from the second century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. It was based on popular national Hindu tradition as represented by the art of Sanchi and Amaravati. Bound to it was

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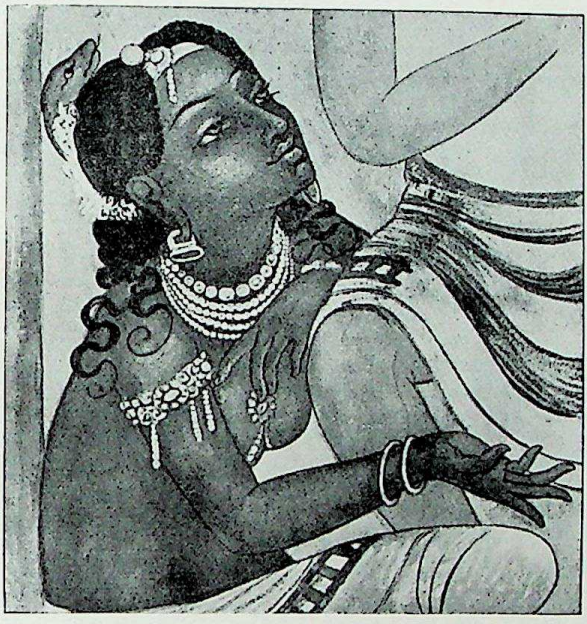
the art of the Gupta Dynasty, (320 A.D.–600 A.D.) one of the most brilliant epochs in the history and art of India. During this period diverse and often contradictory artistic tendencies attained a measure of balance in richness of form and content.

To this epoch belong most of the frescoes of the cave-temples of Ajanta which revealed clearly and tangibly to the western



7. Wall Painting (Detail) from Ajanta Caves. From: John Griffiths, "The Paintings of the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta"; published by the order of the Secretary of State, London, 1896.

world the surprising heights attained by Indian painting. The frescoes were discovered in 1819.[25] Until then, very little was known about Indian painting, although ancient Indian literature, such as the epic poems *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* abound in ecstatic descriptions of masterpieces of painting. In *Natyasastra*, a treatise on dramatic art of the beginning of our era, a great deal of space is devoted to the technique of painting. Thus, there can be no doubt whatever that painting was an art widely practiced in India since ancient times. It was also a highly revered art. Legend

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ascribes the very origin of painting to Brahma himself, who sketched the portrait of a youth and then breathed life into it, and to Narayana (Krishna) who, with the juice of the mango drew a silhouette of the beautiful nymph, Urvashi.

Contemporary literature shows that painting was associated with virtually every phase of life. Frescoes covered the walls of temples and houses; manuscripts abounded in miniatures. The art of painting was as widespread as writing, if not more so. It represented a natural and convenient vehicle for the expression and transmission of thought. Probably the limitations of the technical means employed, namely the manner of treating the surface and the use of short lived vegetable paints, made it impossible for this production to withstand the ravages of time, and much of what did somehow survive was destroyed by militant Islam in its struggle against "images," supposedly forbidden by the Prophet.

Apparently, a great many artists of various schools and nationalities participated in the creation of the Ajanta frescoes, over a period of about five centuries. The earliest of those frescoes, according to the dating of Percy Brown, belong to the first century of our era, the epoch of the Andra dynasty;[26] the latest belong to the first quarter of the seventh century. In Ajanta Ferguson distinguishes

> . . . at least 20 different kinds of painting. Some recall Greek and Roman composition and proportions; a few late ones resemble the Chinese manner to a certain extent; but the majority belong to a phase of art which one can call nothing except Indian—for it is found nowhere else. The quality of the paintings varies from sublime to grotesque, from tender and graceful to quite rough and coarse. But most of it has a kind of emphatic, passionate force, and a marked technical skill.[27]

Jeannine Auboyer[28] provides a detailed note on the technique of the frescoes of Ajanta:

> The technique of these mural paintings is not, strictly speaking, that of the Occidental fresco, but approaches it at several points. The rocky surface of the walls was covered with size, a kind of mortar with an argil base, of which the first layer contained at times a rice glue to

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8. Bodhisattva (Padmapani). Wall-Painting, Ajanta Cave-Temples.

From: "Ajanta" (reproductions of the Ajanta frescoes based on photography). Published by the State of Hyderabad.

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make it stick better to the rock. On the last, carefully smoothed layer, the painter drew the outline with the help of a small stylet, which imprinted the contours in grooved lines, and touched it up with a brush saturated with a brown paint. Then, he mixed and applied his colors, perhaps making first a base of a white or green camaieu[29] and putting the final colors over it. The details were usually painted with dyes or tempera. Finally, a careful pumicing, done mostly by pressure, gave lustre to the surface. The paints used were both mineral and vegetable. The latter resisted badly the chemical reaction of the size, thus often causing the ruin of the whole painting. The palette is rich, containing a few rare colors imported at great expense by the caravans, as, for instance, lapis lazuli.

While the Ajanta frescoes are not equal in quality, most of them show a profound observation of nature, of the human body, and of animal and plant forms, with a skilful treatment of detail.

The artist possessed a system of perspective by which one painting may have several lines of horizon and many station points, like several worlds penetrating one another. Sometimes the action is confined to the earth, as in the scene near a lotus pond. Sometimes action is shown simultaneously both on land and in the air. And how dynamic are those flying figures, moving through the air without wings, as it were, solely by the force of their spirituality. Still other paintings show the action in a sort of conditional space appropriate for the representation of ideas. In this painting symbolic and abstract geometrical figures appear side by side with realistic images as in modern "surrealistic" art.

The frescoes of Ajanta have a single theme, the life of Buddha, both in the guise of Gautama, and in his past incarnations (Jatakas). To Buddha are dedicated the temples of Ajanta as stated by the inscription carved in the rock: "To Him, who removed the intense fire of misery of the three worlds. . . ." Buddha's figure embodies the Buddhist "canon of beauty" enumerated in the "signs of perfection" (32 major and 82 secondary signs) also known as "The marks of Buddha" "read" on the body of the infant Siddhartha by the ascetic Asita according to legend. Let us cite some of the signs in accordance with versions accepted by contemporary Hindu literature.[30]

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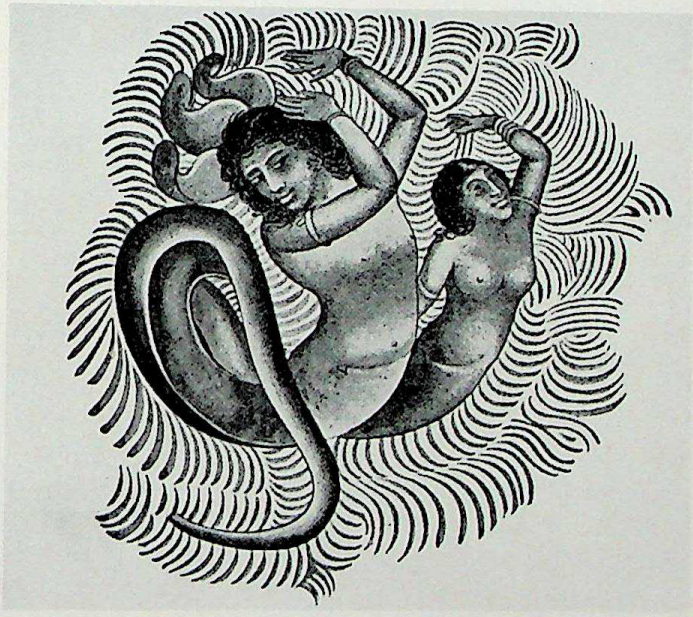
1. A well formed head and forehead.
3. Forehead is broad and straight.
6. Has shining blue-black eyes.
14. Shoulders and arms are beautifully moulded.
15. Seven parts of the body are round and full.
17. His skin has a golden colour.
24. The calves and hands are delicate and round.
31. His feet are flat and he stands firmly . . . etc.

According to these signs we have a vision of Buddha as represented on one of the Ajanta frescoes. He holds a lotus flower in his hand. Around him lies a world of fantastic creatures of the pantheon of popular legend—Kunaras with human busts and birds' bodies, Nagas, demons, genii.



9. Wall-Painting (Detail) from Ajanta Caves.
From: John Griffiths, "The Paintings of the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta"; published by the order of the Secretary of State, London, 1896.

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In addition to the extraordinary production of the art of Ajanta, some twenty cave-temples with murals were discovered in other parts of India, but none compare with Ajanta in the richness of its decorations. Frescoes in the temples of Bagh in Gujarat, Badami in Bijapur, Bhaja in the environs of Malavli, and other places, belong to the Gupta epoch. Paintings of the temples of Ellora (Deccan), Polonnaruwa (Ceylon), and a few others belong to a later period between the eighth and fifteenth centuries. In Ceylon, on the rocks of Sigiriya-Gala, where once stood the unassailable fortress of King Kassyapa, remarkable frescoes of the Gupta style exist. Represented on these frescoes are the figures of women—these are apsaras (celestial nymphs), or conjectured wives of King Kassyapa. Rising waist-deep out of clouds, they hold lotus blossoms and musical instruments in their hands. They presumably form a Buddhist religious procession.

10. Wall Paintings from Sigiriya-Gala.
From: Archaeological Survey Annual Report, 1905.

Ceylon was converted to Buddhism in the third century B.C. by Asoka's son, Mahinda, and it remains to this day a stronghold of this religion which has all but disappeared in India itself. In Ceylon the paintings of Sigiriya-Gala show the same high degree

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of skill as the paintings of Ajanta. They represent the southernmost penetration of the art of Gupta. The artists who created these works were anonymous; like masons of the Middle Ages of Europe, they travelled over the country from place to place and instructed the faithful with stories of Buddha's lives which they painted on the walls of temples.

The decline of Buddhist art in India began in the sixth century when nearly all over the country Buddhism was replaced by Brahmanism. The last school of Buddhist art existed under the patronage of the Pala (c. 765–1197) and Sena (c. 1050–1202) dynasties in Bengal from the eighth to the twelfth centuries. The center of this school was the Nalanda monastery in Bihar, and its influence was widespread. We know two of its painters and sculptors who worked in the ninth century, namely Dhiman and Bitpalo. Bengal imbued Buddhist art with a special nuance, an influence of Tantric[31] cults which were permeated with magic.

Miniature Painting in India

Miniatures of the eleventh and twelfth centuries of our era, which have survived to present times as illustrations to texts of Buddhist manuscripts, were found in Bengal. Of earlier miniatures nothing has been found as yet. However, according to ancient Indian literary evidence, the art of miniature painting, like that of mural painting, has existed in India since the dim past. But while frescoes were painted on durable stone, the miniatures were executed on fragile palm leaves whose deterioration shortened their time of survival.

The style of the miniatures of the Bihar School which flourished during the Pala epoch was strongly influenced by folk art—ritualistic pictures of the Bengal folk artists, the Javanese popular theatre (Wayang), and Indonesian and Polynesian wood carvings. From the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, the same style prevailed also in Gujarat, where it is characteristic of the so-called Early West-Indian School of Painting.

The best miniatures of the Early West-Indian School belong to

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the years 1350–1450 when the palm leaf began to be replaced by paper. Most of these miniatures are illustrations of sacred Jain[33] writings. Some are illustrations of the Vaishnava hymns (of the Vishnuist sect) ascribed to the Vaishnava saint, Bilwamangala, who lived some time between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Manuscripts of secular content, such as the poem *Vasanta Vilasa* (dated 1451), are very rare.

In contrast with the paintings of Gupta which possess both

11. Designs from Illustrated Manuscript of Bilvamangala's Bāla-Gopāla-Stutti. Gujarati Style.
From: article by Dr. M. R. Majmudar in "Journal of the University of Bombay," September, 1947, Vol. XVI.

relief and perspective, the miniatures of Gujarat are entirely lacking in chiaroscuro. Just as in the marionettes of the Javanese shadow theatre, in the Gujarat miniatures we find the faces represented in partial profile, with the two eyes shown frontally, one eye projected outward. This treatment is incompatible with Gupta art. While the human figures are flat and strongly stylized, the representations of animals are more realistic and reveal a sharp power of observation of nature. Although generally foreign to Gupta art, Gujarat miniatures still have some things in common

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with it, as for instance, the manner of painting water and trees, the portrayal of peacocks and elephants, and the filling of all free space with the lotus flower.

Mogul and Rajput Schools

The arrival of Mohammedan Arabs in India at the end of the seventh century of our era brought in its wake the persecution of artists. The religion of Mohammed forbids "images," for Allah alone creates. Hence every attempt on the part of mortals to imitate His creation is considered a sacrilege.[34] The faithful followers of the Prophet in their zeal for Islam mercilessly destroyed works of art. A particularly grievous loss was suffered in the years 1205–1206 in the province of Gujarat where the temple of Shiva at Somnath was destroyed by Sultan Muhammad of Ghazni. Many artists of Gujarat were forced to flee and seek asylum in the mountains of northern India where the influence of their style is seen in the treatment of landscapes and figures in the miniatures of the early Rajput school.

In 1526, Babur (1483–1530),[35] a descendant of Timur, defeated the Sultan of Delhi on the field of Panipat and founded a new Mongolian dynasty. Thus a long period of civil wars came to an end and peace brought in its wake the renaissance of art. The first Mongol kings, who were not rigorous Mohammedan traditionalists, tolerated images, and they were patrons of art. Shah Akbar (1556–1605) considered the understanding of art to be man's best adornment and regarded art itself as a means of serving God. He said, "It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God. . . ." Abul-Fazl who quotes these words of Shah Akbar adds a comment expressing his own satisfaction: "Bigoted followers of the letter of the law are hostile to the art of painting; but their eyes now see the truth."

Under Akbar and his son Jehangir (1605–1627) the Mongolian School of miniature painting in India reached its apogee. Although based to a great extent on foreign tradition carried from Persia and China by artists hired by the Mongol rulers, it was gradually

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12. Portrait of Shah Jahan on Horseback.
Miniature Mughal School. XVII Century (Signed Hana Zad). Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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enriched by the skill of Indian artists. The art of the Mongolian School in India which developed under the patronage of the royal court, became on the whole a formal art, a tendency rather foreign to Indian tradition. The subjects depicted were events of court life, military and hunting scenes, portraits of kings and high officials. Interest in portraits increased greatly, and at the court of the Shah Jahan a school of miniature portrait painters flourished.

The enjoyment by artists of honor and peace ended with the succession to power of the fanatic Shah Aurangzeb (1658–1707). Once again images were banned, artists were persecuted and were forced to leave the court. Delhi, which until then had been the center of art, was deserted. Many artists fled to the mountains of Rajputana, Bundelkhand and Punjab, and merged with the school of Rajputana, which under the aegis of local rulers still preserved ancestral traditions.

The Rajput School of art, in contrast with the Mogul School, rested on national tradition, popular art, and the great art of the Maurya, Andra, Gupta epoch. Its themes are epic and romantic in content, generally depicting episodes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, or from the national legends of Krishna, the hero of milk maids, the divine youth who captivates hearts with the music of his flute. Characteristic of this school is also a type of miniature called Ragmala or Rajini which consists of pictorial illustrations of a song or musical air, inscribed with the words of the songs. Ragmala, particularly popular in the art of Punjab, had earlier been popular among the artists of Gujarat.

The Rajput school may be divided into two main branches: first, Rajastani (Rajputana and part of central India); and second, Pahari (Punjab and Garhwal). The most famous center of the Pahari branch, founded in the second half of the seventeenth century, was located in Kangra on the slopes of the Himalayas. It survived until 1905 when it was destroyed by an earthquake in which many artists who lived there lost their lives. From this school developed the school of Lahore and Amristar which existed at the courts of the Sikh princes. The early art of the Pahari school (16th–17th centuries) is kindred to its ancient ancestor the Gand-

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hara School in its rather austere composition and color. The first branch of the Rajput school, Rajastani, comes closer to the vibrant riches of Gupta art. However, the difference between the two branches of the Rajput school is very subtle. As yet the subject has not been studied adequately.

At present, only a few of the schools of Rajputana and Punjab are well known. It seems that each center had its own artists and style. We must wait until the patient efforts of collectors and researchers reveal the general character and specific peculiarities of each style.[36]

European Influence and "The New School"

The chronicles of Indian art of the Mogul period contain many European names. The Frenchman, Austin de Bordeaux, who served for a while at the court of Shah Jahan, probably participated in decorating the famous Mausoleum of Taj Mahal. The construction itself of this exquisite monument is sometimes ascribed, although without clear evidence, to an Italian architect. The Bible which was presented as a gift to Jehangir in 1580 was illustrated by some of the foremost European painters. When the Great Mogul, seated on his "peacock throne," received envoys from Europe laden with rich gifts, among these gifts there were undoubtedly many Western paintings. They evoked wonder among Indian and Mongolian painters and the desire to imitate them.

Merchants and missionaries also brought paintings of religious and secular subjects to India. Moreover, European artists, who liked to paint portraits of high officials of the Mongolian court, kept coming in increasing numbers. Hence, there was no scarcity of material to serve as an inspiration to Indian artists.

European influence continued to grow. The hundred years of political disturbance which followed the death of Shah Aurangzeb greatly weakened the power of the Mongolian princes. In 1803, Shah Alam, pressed from all sides by his enemies, turned for help to England. Help was given by Lord Lake at the head of a British

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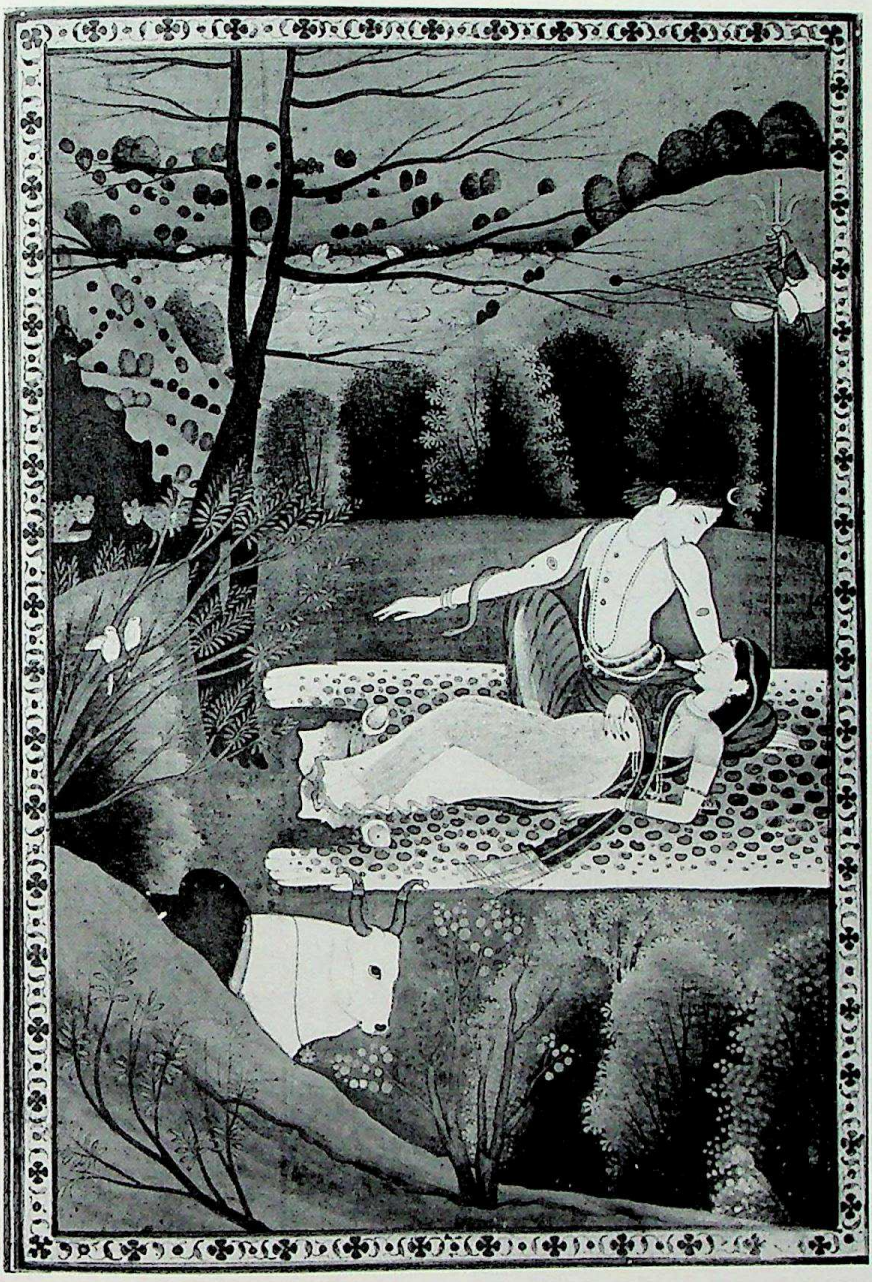

13. Shiva and Parvati.
Miniature, Rajput School. Courtesy of Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

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military detachment. In 1857, upon the death of the last Shah of the Mogul dynasty, England established a protectorate over India. This ended the civil wars which had been ravaging the country.

An irresistible wave of European influence swept over India. The Persian language, which had been the language of higher learning, was replaced by English. Several art schools, teaching European techniques were established. European art came to be regarded as "high art" and Indian artists, forgetting past traditions began to paint in the European manner. They even regarded with a certain contempt their national "backward" art, and discarded precious Indian miniatures.

The rehabilitation of Indian art was due largely to the discovery of the frescoes of Ajanta by a British archeologist. These frescoes revolutionized the attitude towards Indian art, both in the Occident and the Orient. Europeans, to their credit, were the first to recognize the high qualities of these frescoes. The following appraisal of Ajanta frescoes illustrates the new attitude:

> The artists had a complete knowledge of posture. Their knowledge of the type and positions, gestures and beauty of hands is amazing. Many racial types are rendered; the features are often elaborately studied. The drawing of foliage and flowers is very beautiful. Some of the schemes of colour composition are most remarkable, and there is great variety. . . .[37]

In 1904, Lord Curzon passed a law for the preservation of the works of ancient Indian art, and Sir John Marshall was appointed the first Director General of Archeology. Under his guidance and at his initiative many excavations were undertaken which resulted in the discovery of the ancient civilization of the Sind, a discovery surpassing the most daring expectations. The finding and appreciation of Indian miniatures is credited to S. B. Havell, who was appointed the head of the Calcutta School of Art in 1884. Havell writes:

> I was sent out to India to instruct Indians in art, and, having instructed them and myself to the best of my ability, I returned filled with amazement at the insularity of the Anglo-Saxon mind, which has taken more

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than a century to discover that we have far more to learn from India in art than India has to learn from Europe.[38]

Having reached these conclusions, Havell proceeded to reorganize his school.

I abolished the 'antique' class in the School of Art, and revised the whole course of instruction in that institution, making Indian Art the basis of the teaching.[39]

A gallery which contained many excellent examples of Indian miniatures collected by Havell was established at the school.

Havell met with opposition even among his Indian students who imagined that superior European art was being withheld from them because they were Indians. A group of them left the School in protest. But Havell refused to surrender. He argued and remonstrated and finally, after a series of lectures, his students returned.

Havell calls the artist Abanindro Nath Tagore "the founder of a New School to which the future belongs." At the beginning of his career, A. N. Tagore like the majority of Indian artists of the time, "looked to Europe for guidance in technique, and followed purely European ideas of artistic expression. The reorganization of the Calcutta Art Gallery in 1886 was the starting point in Mr. A. Tagore's career as an artist of New India."[40] Around him gathered a group of artists, among them Nanda Lal Bose, and Surendra Nath Ganguly, who formed the nucleus of the "New School"[41] in Bengal.

In what does the difference between the art methods of Europe and Asia consist? Nobody is better equipped to give us an answer than Havell who knew the theory and practice of both schools. He reached these conclusions:

The academic methods of the New School of Indian Art are really a return to the Asiatic principles, on which all true Oriental art practice is based . . . In the ordinary European Art Academy the student goes through a long, laborious and rather painful process of eye training, to develop his imitative powers, before he is allowed to realise that art

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14. "Offering," by Jamini Roy.
From: "Contemporary Indian Painters," by G. Venkatachalam, Nalanda Publications, Bombay.

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really depends for its vitality and strength upon the creative faculties. The oriental artist develops his imitative skill mainly by the exercise of his creative powers; his first and last aim is to cultivate a habit of mind-seeing. The modern European practice of dressing up a series of living models or lay-figures, in costume and then painting them one by one as a piece of still life, would seem to the Oriental artist a most feeble and inartistic method of creation. He will sit down for an hour, a day, or a week, and create the picture in his own mind; and not until the mind-image is complete will he set to work to transfer it to paper or canvas. What models he needs he must use while the mind-picture is being formed—never in the realisation of it by pigments and painting. Therefore, memory work takes a much more important place than mere copying from nature, and a habit of intense mental concentration is developed from the earliest stage of his artistic career. I venture to think that the usual Western academic method would be immensely improved, if we tried to learn a little more of Eastern.[42]

Folk Art of Bengal

It is rather astonishing that the modern school of art in India should have come into existence in Bengal, the province which adhered most conservatively to the ancient traditions. Popular rites and customs, with roots in the distant past, were preserved intact here through the course of the ages, and its folk art in particular is very rich. Folk art represents a deep mine for studying the origin of the art of a place as it is transmitted through the ages almost unchanged.[43] The popular art of Bengal "bears a close resemblance to the heritage of ancient art and culture to which the Western Asiatic and the Indus Valleys belong."[44]

The population of Bengal represents a mixture of many races and nationalities, among which the non-Aryan element is the strongest. Their religious beliefs are dominated by the cult of the Mother Goddess (the Goddess of Fertility), and by Shivaism, popularly connected with the phallic cult, and the cult of the serpent, both of which abound in magic rites. The Folk Art reflects its close link with magic. Even today there is a class of painters in Bengal called "Djadu-patua," meaning artist-magician.[45] The

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Djadu-patua draw their paintings on small scrolls; on rare occasions they paint murals.

The art of the Djadu-patua is dedicated exclusively and directly to religious and magic rites. One ceremony is the "bestowal of eyesight to a picture of a deceased." The artist carries with him a collection of prepared pictures of men and women with eyes in which the pupils have not been drawn. With such a picture he comes to the bereaved relatives and offers "to return sight to the deceased who wanders blindly" in the Beyond. If the relatives buy the picture the Djadu-patua draws in the pupils and it is assumed that the soul of the departed thereby acquires sight.[46] The drawings of these folk-artists frequently possess freshness, power and originality and show a fine sense of color and composition. Occasionally, they paint general scenes of the life of the people.

Another form of widespread popular art is the "Alipana," which is a temporary picture drawn by women on the ground or floor (or, sometimes, on the wall) for a special occasion, a wedding or other religious ceremony. A solution of rice powder diluted in water is applied to the ground with a piece of cloth. The picture is drawn either with the white rice solution, or is colored by adding powder made out of ground leaves and flowers. Among the several types of "Alipana" is one of quadrangular shape, forming a lacy ornament composed of spirals, curlicues, and heart-shaped leaves. Its four corners are terminated generally by a symbolic representation of the footstep of the Goddess Lakshmi, the spouse of Shiva. A. Mookerjee calls it "the Circular Alipana." Another type, the "Mature" or "Chain" Alipana, is a cosmological representation showing the sun and the moon; between them are planets and stars, sixteen in number. Below them, the location of the earth is marked with a quadrangle resembling a carpet on which stands a priest or a worshipper. Both types are used as sacred carpets in ritualistic performances. The third type of "Alipana" used in ceremonies, often with dancing, illustrates epic stories of their heroic deeds, folklore, or scenes of everyday life. The designs in the compositions of Alipana are often suggestive of pictographic writing.

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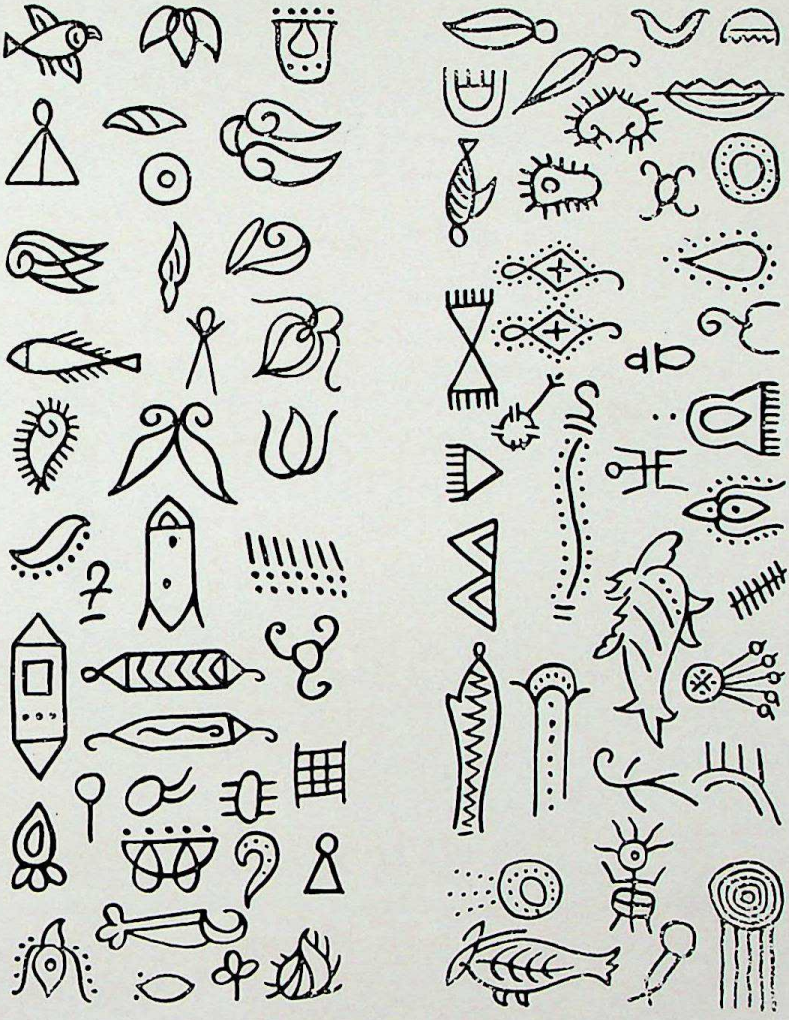

15. Some Pictographic Marks in Alipana Drawings.
From: "Folk Art of Bengal," by Ajit Mookerjee.
University of Calcutta, 1939.

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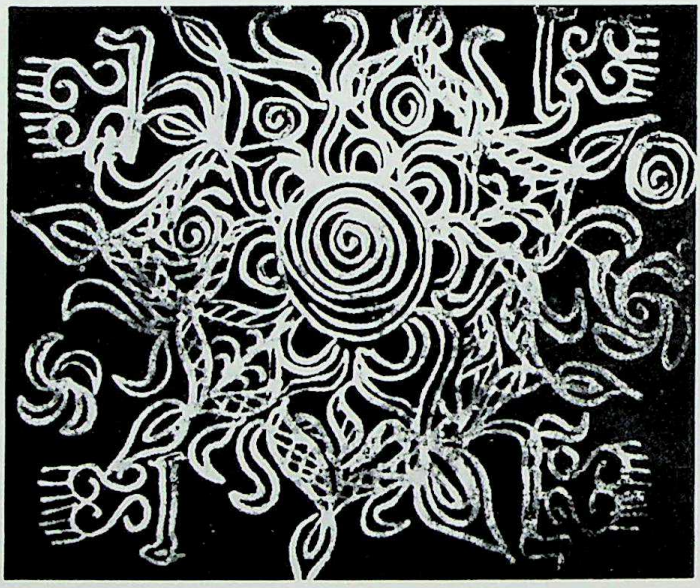
Of great interest are the toys produced by the popular artists of Bengal. Most of them are colored wooden statuettes representing human beings and animals. Their artistic heritage is obscure, although many of the human figurines are reminiscent of the figures on Egyptian sarcophagi. The dolls belonging to this group are called "mummy-dolls." Figurines have their place in daily life as toys and as religious objects, and also embellish homes and wooden carriages (rathas). In marionette theatres, dolls made of palm pith are employed.

The dolls, painted masks, and much of its sculpture, indicate a close kinship between Bengal and the Islands of Indonesia: Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Bali.



16. Circular Alipana.
From: "The Folk Art of Bengal" by Ajit Mookerjee.
University of Calcutta, 1939.

NOTES

[1] P. Kozlov, *Tibetskaya expeditzya*, 1889-1890.

[2] Omar Khayyam, *Rubaiyat*.

[3] The story of mankind is conditionally divided into three (tremendously unequal) periods: prehistoric, protohistoric and historic. The latter begins with the use of some kind of system of writing. The period immediately preceding it is protohistoric. The immensity of time preceding it—millennia upon millennia—is prehistoric. These periods vary widely for different areas.

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[4] For a summary of the discoveries of Stone Age sites in India, see V. D. Krishnaswami's "Stone Age of India" in *Ancient India*, No. 3, 1947.

[5] D. H. Gordon, "The Rock Paintings of the Mahadeo Hills," *Indian Art and Letters*, 1936. In Gordon's opinion, all five series cover a period of some 1500 years, from about the fifth century B.C. to the tenth century A.D. He attributes the major portion of the paintings to the period from the fifth to the tenth century A.D. See also articles by H. Kuhn, *IPEK*, 1926 and D. H. Gordon, *IPEK*, 1935.

[6] D. H. Gordon, "The Rock Paintings of the Mahadeo Hills." However, H. De Terra discovered in a cave-shelter at Adam Garh a realistic wall painting which he considers of a much earlier date: "The earliest Indian rock painting may be this deer at Adam Garh." In the same cave, he found also "small Microlithic tools . . . also, some older Paleolithic tools." See, H. De Terra, "Ice Age India and Burma," *Asia*, March 1939.

[7] D. H. Gordon, "The Rock Paintings of the Mahadeo Hills."

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Possibly in another 15,000 years or more, our civilization would appear in the darkened memory of a new man something like this: Americans might appear like some legendary Eagles (after some U. S. insignia discovered in the ruins) and the English, quite analogously, might be represented with lions' bodies.

[11] Stuart Piggot, "The Chronology of Prehistoric North-West India." *In Ancient India*, 1946.

[12] The pattern was impressed by a kind of comb on the moist clay.

[13] The culture of the Mediterranean, and the Aegean, with Crete its center, was indisputably related to the culture of Sind as attested to by its sculpture and ceramics.

[13a] Vedas, the ancient sacred Hindu literature. Veda in Sanscrit means "knowledge," sacred lore.

[14] R. Heine-Geldern, "Archaeological Traces of the Vedic Aryans," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, IV, Fascicule II, 1936.

[15] D. H. Gordon, "Early Indian Terracottas," *Journal of Oriental Studies*, XI, 1943.

[15a] "Pre-Mauryan" is usually applied to the period beginning broadly with the appearance of early states in the north, between Himalaya and Vindiya mountains, about 600 B.C., and ending with the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, who founded in 322 B.C. the Maurya dynasty.

[16] The great central event of Siddhartha Gautama's life, when, perceiving the causes of human suffering and the way of liberation from it, he became Buddha (the Awakened, the Enlightened). The event took place during a meditation under the Bo Tree.

[17] Different scholars give different dates for Asoka's reign, mainly because of the fact that he did not ascend the throne immediately upon the death of his father, Bindusara. We are using the dates, accepted by the Encyclopaedia Britannica, given by T. W. Rhys Davids.

[18] Stupa, a special type of Buddhist monument, the lower part of which encloses a sacred relic.

[19] A. Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Siva*. 1925.

[20] Referring to the discussion about the sources of Buddha's images, see A. Foucher, *L'Origine Grecque de l'Image du Bouddha*, and A. Coomaraswamy, "Origin of the Buddha Image," *Art Bulletin*, IX, 1927. Also, M. Touveau-Dubreuil "Histoire ancienne du Deccan," in *Revue historique de l'inde Francaise*, III, 1919. M. Touveau-Dubreuil assumes that Buddha's image originated in the art of the region of Dmaravati (in Oriental Deccan) where under the Andra dynasty (second century B.C.–third century A.D.) developed a brilliant school of art.

[21] The name of the Gandhara artistic school is usually employed to designate several different regions of the valley of Cabul, including Kapisi, Uddiyana, Lam-

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paka and Gandhara proper. The latter, however, is a region of Peshawar; King Kanishka there had his winter capital.

[22] See R. Ghirshman, Begram, *Recherches Archeologiques et Historiques sur les Kushans.* Delegation francaise en Afghanistan, XII, 1946.

[23] A. Foucher, "La vieille route de l'Inde, de Bactres à Taxila," Memoires de la delegation Archeologique Francaise en Afghanistan, 1947-48.

[24] R. Grousset calls this later phase of Greco-Buddhist art "Irano-Buddhist." See R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extreme Orient,* I.

[25] At the time of their discovery, many of the Ajanta frescoes were in a pitiful state. The first attempts to restore them was disastrous because of the unfortunate idea of varnishing them, as the original paint began to peel off together with the varnish. Later attempts succeeded in an excellent result of preservation. In the words of G. Yazdani, "these matchless monuments have found a fresh lease of life for at least a couple of centuries" (article by G. Yazdani, in *Revealing India's Past,* edited by Sir John Cumming. The India Society, 1939). Copies of the frescoes were made by Major Robert Gill who worked on them for about 20 years, but unfortunately, nearly all of them perished in the fire of the Crystal Palace Exhibition of London in 1866. A considerable part of the copies made later by Sir John Griffiths were likewise destroyed by fire. Finally, a series of copies was made in the years 1909-1911 by Lady Harringham with the assistance of a group of Indian artists; and later, by M. Kachadurian.

Photographs of the frescoes of caves I and II were published by the Archeological Department of the State of Hyderabad.

[26] Percy Brown, *Indian Paintings.* University Press, 1929.

[27] Ferguson, *The Rock-Cut Temples of India.*

[28] Jeannine Auboyer "Les Arts de l'Extreme Orient." 1949.

[29] Camaieu—painting in monochrome.

[30] See: *The Thirty-two signs of Perfection,* Dharma Samgraha, Kinjin Kasawara and Prof. Max Muller. *Jatakamala,* by M. M. Higgins, *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi,* Burnouf, etc.

[31] " 'Tantric' comes from the Sanscrit 'tan' to grow, to speed; the aim of the system is to arouse the hidden spiritual forces lying dormant in the individual." (J. C. French, *The Art of Pala Empire of Bengal*)

[33] Jainism, a philosophic-religious system contemporary with Buddhism. Its founder was Vardhaman or Mahavira (Great Hero) who lived in the south of India (599-527 B.C.).

[34] The Mohammedan opposition to "images," however, is based not on the words of the Koran, but a later tradition accepted by the Sunnites, but not by the Shiahs. See A. Coomaraswamy, "Catalogue of The Indian Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston," Part VI.

[35] Babur, or Baber or Babar ("The Tiger")—the surname of Zahir ud-din Mohammed, son of King of Ferghana Omar Sheik.

[36] Jeannine Auboyer, Peintures de l'Inde (Catalogue de l'exposition au musée Guimet, 1947).

[37] J. Ferguson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India.*

[38] S. B. Havell, "The New School of Painting," Calcutta Art Gallery, 1908.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] See G. Venkatchalam, *Contemporary Indian Painting.* Nalanda Publications, Bombay.

[42] E. B. Havell, *The New School of Painting,* Calcutta Art Gallery, 1908.

[43] Ajit Mookerjee, *Folk Art of Bengal.* University of Calcutta, 1939.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] Pata—a painting in colors; Djadu—magic; Jadu patua—artist magicians.

[46] Ajit Mookerjee, *The Art of Bengal.*

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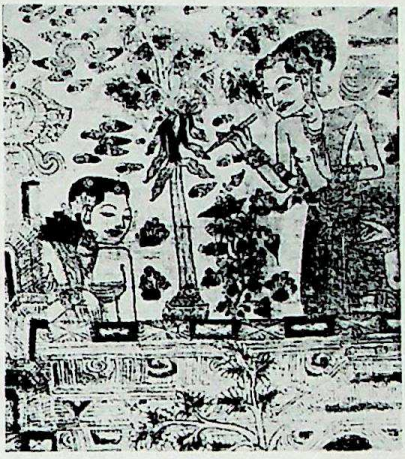
INDONESIA



17. Ancient Balinese Painting.
From: "Indonesian Art," by Hans van Weeren-Griek. The Royal Indies Institute, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

The islands of Indonesia,[1] stepping stones of the Pacific to the Asiatic mainland, represent an inexhaustible treasurehouse of the remnants and riddles of the past. Here on these islands side by side with the art of the Stone Age, kindred with that of Siberia, we find traces of an ancient culture having much in common with the great prehistoric cultures of India, Egypt and Crete. Moving eastward we find also many similarities between the art of Indonesia and some of the countries on the American continent, such as Peru, Mexico, the United States and Canada. The stone sarcophagi of the jungles of Sumatra, decorated with sculptured heads, human, and composite human-animal forms, show kinship with Egypt, and even more with ancient Mesopotamia. Firmly seated on heavy angular "cubistic" horses are stone statues of

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riders, called "the ancestors" by the local inhabitants. There are "menhirs" similar to those found in England, Korea, Central Asia, and other places. They are monumental upright stones, ascribed sometimes to solar, sometimes to phallic cults. There are also strange mushroom-shaped sculptured stones of unknown origin and purpose. Their flat tops form a platform on which, during festivities, women perform slow rhythmic dances consisting of upward and downward movements of the torso, and wavy, flowing gestures of the arms accompanied by a motion of the wrists resembling the fluttering of wings. The famous dancers of Cambodia, Annam and Bali belong to the same "school of ballet." Many sacerdotal objects, like the magical staff of Batak magicians (who are called "Si-baso" meaning "word") have much in common with the Medicine Man's staff of North American Indians.

The origin of the tribe of Bataks and some other Sumatra tribes (the Niya in the north and the Lampongs in the south) presents a riddle. The customs of these tribes (the members of whom resemble each other in physical appearance) preserve traces of a past common culture—well developed ideas about the soul, lofty rules of morality, and a knowledge of agriculture, art, and writing.[2]

The Bataks live in the northern part of the Island of Sumatra, for the most part in the region of Toba, a beautiful alpine lake resembling the lakes of Italy. At about the center of Lake Toba there is a rather large island, Pulau Samosir. The inhabitants of Samosir Island perform sacred ritualistic dance-mystery plays. The heroine of one is Si-Galegale, a life-sized wooden marionette, which is clad in costly robes and lavishly decorated with gold and silver jewelry. She is very beautiful. Her face, large fixed eyes, and gracefully delineated mouth denote an extraordinary power of concentration, some sort of inner life, so much so that the words "wooden" and "marionette" seem paradoxical. Her limbs as well as her eyes are movable, by a complex system of threads. Directed by a skillful hand, Si-Galegale dances in the moonlight at funeral rites, tears flowing from her eyes.[3]

"In an aesthetic sense," writes Schnitger,[4] "Si-Galegale has a

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place of honor. No one who has seen her dancing and weeping in the green mists of Samosir, in a night filled with stars and silence, will ever forget her. Thoughts of love and immortality surround her. The spirits of the dead are safe in her keeping, raised above every delusion." Batak legend tells us that the first Si-Galegale was a wooden statue carved by the sculptor Panaggana, and was brought to life by the Datu (magician) Partaor who had found her beautiful.

The origin of Si-Galegale, this Indonesian Galatea, is lost in antiquity. "Probably it was brought to Samosir by megalithic builders. It is known that formerly she danced by the great stone-sarcophagi, indeed, that several dolls wearing the skulls of ancestors performed around the coffin."[5]

Sumatra's past is veiled by the dark of the unknown. Its history (in-so-far as we know its history) starts late, from the time when the Islands were already Indianized to a considerable extent and were often designated by the general name "Island India." The histories of Sumatra and Java, as well as of Bali and Borneo, are closely linked. Sumatra's name itself is thought by some to have derived from "Su-Madra" (Sea-land), although the matter is open to debate and even such competent scientists as Cromm and Ferrand are not in agreement with each other.

The source of the historical dynasty of Sailendra[6] in the Island of Java is also far from established. Their kings conquered this island in the eighth century A.D., and probably made their capital in Candi. To that time, i.e., the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries, belongs the building of Candi Kalasan, apparently the oldest Javanese Buddhist temple, and Boro-Budur, one of the loftiest monuments of Buddhist art. About 915 A.D. some kind of disaster occurred, perhaps an earthquake or foreign invasion, and Candi was completely abandoned.

The kings of the Sailendra dynasty were Buddhists and professed the Mahayana doctrine. Although Buddhism was made the state religion, in popular practice throughout the island it became strongly influenced and intermixed with Shivaism. Upon the downfall of the Sailendra dynasty in 860 A.D., Shivaism once

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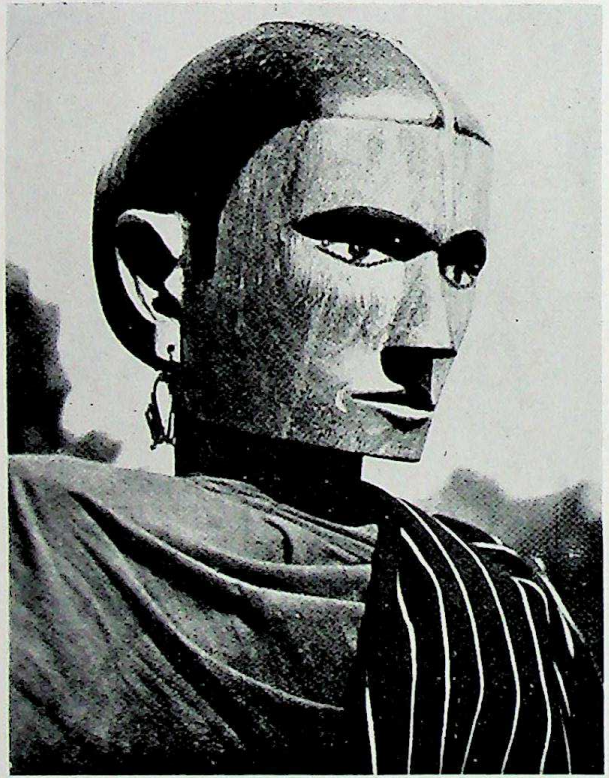
again replaced Buddhism as the state religion. The kings of the ruling dynasty began to be regarded as incarnations of Shiva. Nevertheless, respect for Buddha remained as can be seen from the title given to King Krtanagara (1268–1292 A.D.), "Shiva-Buddha." Shiva is the symbol of creative fire vitalizing the universe, the "cosmic phallus," closely connected in the popular mind with the cults of fire, the lingam and the serpent. Tongues of fire and the spiral, the curlicues of fire and the rings of the serpent, form the basic ornaments of Shivaist art. The elephant with a serpent-like trunk also serves Shiva. This jolly and kindly Indian elephant-god Ganesh, protector of artists and poets, becomes in Java Shiva's conveyor, a dreaded figure hung all over with skulls.

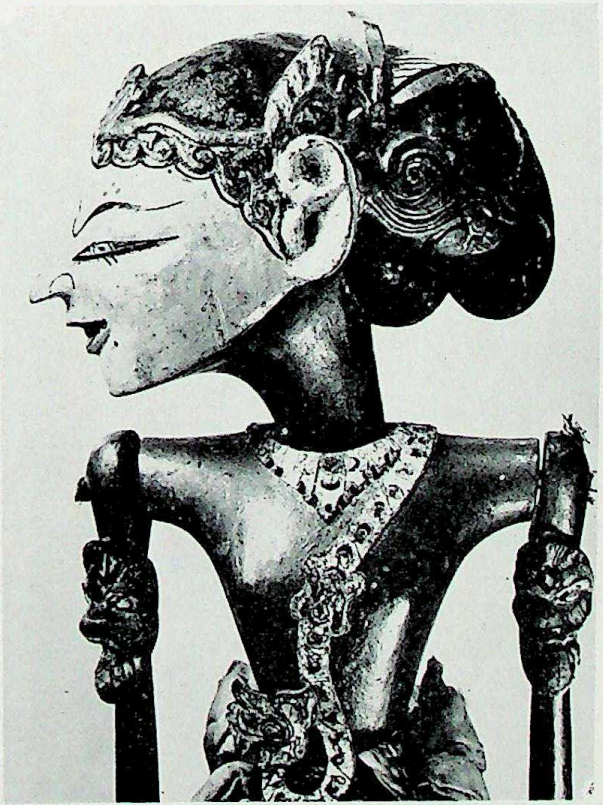
On the islands of Indonesia the coil of the serpent or fire of shivaistic art is combined with a geometric ornament characteristic of Polynesia, with which it has much in common. In Polynesia, this ornament is usually tattooed on the human body and becomes a complex symbolic and magic picture from which a person actually does not part until his death. In Indonesia, the ornament was transferred from the skin of the human body to cloth (the famous Javanese batik which Europeans "discovered" at the beginning of the twentieth century). Actual tattooing is still occasionally encountered as among the Dayaks of Borneo.

The theatrical art of Java (Wayang) is on a remarkably high level and rich in variety. It has created a great deal of interest in the Western World. There is a theater of shadows (Wayang-Purva); a theater of pictures; and the most ancient form, a theater with living actors. In the theater of shadows the performers are leather marionettes representing heroes and ancestors. Their performance is ritualistic, and as sacred objects the marionettes are treated with great respect. The theater in Java generally is regarded as a sacred art, recapitulating in animated pictures its heroic past. It is supported by the court, and members of the royal family frequently themselves participate in theatrical performances.

The art of painting has been preserved in Java in its stage sets as well as in its folk pictures. Sets in the Wayang theater are



18a. Si-Galegale, Dancing Marionette. Sumatra. From: F. S. Schnitger, "Forgotten Realms of Sumatra," Photo V. Goerenraad. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1939.



18b. Royal Personage, Marionette of Wayang-Golek. Java.
Courtesy of the Asia Institute, New York.

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19. Fragment of an Image for Wayang-beber. Java.
From: N. Y. Krom. L'Art javanais dans les musées de Hollande et de Java.
(Ars Asiatica, VIII. 1926.)

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usually made in the form of scrolls or screens painted with heroic scenes against landscape backgrounds. Both from the artistic and the historical points of view they are of great interest. In style, their inspiration is Polynesian, highly ornamental, powerful in composition, and daring in stylization of form. Figures closely related to Wayang in style are found in manuscript illustrations of Gujarat in West India. Landscapes reminiscent of Wayang stage sets appear in the art of China where the Shivaist coils of fire become intricate clouds out of which emerge serpent-like dragons circling in a vortex of magic.

NOTES

[1] While this term refers to all islands of the Indian Ocean, we mean here only the Sumatra group (Sumatra, Java, Bali) bound closest to the continent of Asia.

[2] Strangely, at the same time, they practice cannibalism. "Its causes are unknown and incomprehensible," states F. M. Schnitger, conservator of the museum of Palembang and leader of the archeological expedition on Sumatra in 1935-1938, in his book, *Forgotten Realms of Sumatra.* In cases of cannibalism, which are very rare, only enemies or criminals are eaten (the most dreadful crime, which permits of no ransom, is adultery with the wife of the raja; another, treason to the tribe and clan). Ordinarily, the majority of the Bataks hardly eat meat at all and content themselves with a vegetable diet.

[3] By mechanical means drops are squeezed out of wet sponges placed in her eye sockets.

[4] F. M. Schnitger, *Forgotten Realms of Sumatra.* E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1939.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Most likely Sailendra came originally from the mainland (either India or Indo-China) and not from Sumatra, as was previously supposed. See: *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Vol. 70, No. 2, April-June 1950.

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INDO-CHINA

In Indo-China as in Indonesia the theatre is a sacred art serving as the custodian of all the other arts and of the traditions of the past. Even today, at the courts of the kings of Cambodia, Siam, and the court of the rulers of Java, maidens representing gods and genii, heroes and ancestors, dance in traditional costumes and masks. Who were these "ancestors," about whom the legends of Cambodia state, that they had come "swimming" from the land "Mo-Tie"?[1]

Very little except dolmens and menhirs[2] has remained of the art of the older inhabitants of Indo-China, to which the Champa, the first inhabitants of Cambodia, possibly belonged. But apparently that art formed the basis of the astonishingly forceful art of the Khmers.[3]

The Khmers make their appearance in Cambodia at about the fifth century A.D. By that time, the entire peninsula of Indo-China was already considerably Indianized; and the art of its pre-Khmer period bears the mark of the Hindu-Buddhist tradition of the Gupta epoch, with the admixture of Chinese influence.

The supreme achievements of Khmer art are the Great Temple at Angkor-Vat, dated by M. Coedes in the first half of the twelfth century,[4] and the ruined city of Angkor Tom, of earlier date, situated three miles to the north. Like the Temple Boro-budur in Java, Angkor-Vat is built on the plan of a graded "Mountain-Temple" symbolizing the sacred Mountain Meru, regarded as the center of the universe. Its top was surmounted by an altar bearing the phallic symbol of the creative power of the King-God. The temple presents an astonishing mixture of Buddhist and Shivaist symbolism, and some of its bas-reliefs show traces of the religion of the Mother-Goddess.[5] Apparently, it had begun as a Shivaist temple, and later, when Buddhism became the state religion, it was completed and dedicated to Buddha. Whenever the religion

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20. Bas-reliefs of Angkor-Vat.
Courtesy of Musée Guimet, Paris.

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of the state changed, it was rededicated as a temple of the new cult.

Cambodians believe that this temple is of supernatural origin brought from Heaven and placed in Cambodia by giants and genii. When asked who built it, they reply "The Gods."[6] A tradition exists, however, giving an artist's name, Divakara as its originator. Whoever the builders of Angkor may have been, they stamped their colossal work with an ancient symbol—Naga, the "cosmic serpent." The sacred seven-headed Naga is a predominant feature of the decoration of the Temple of Angkor.

Among the statuettes of the Khmers (of unknown provenance in the Museum of Bangkok)[7] we find a representation of Shiva-Nagaraja with a naga (serpent) on his chest, and a trident in his right hand. This figure has grace, and great force.

Side by side with Buddhism and Shivaism, there existed the ancient cult of the Mother Goddess, and the Solar cult. Until today, the King of Cambodia bears among his many titles those of "Supreme King of the race of the disc of King Hari . . . the Blessed one of the solar race . . . Grand Descendant of the solar race on the calm and serene land of Cambodia. . . ."[8]

This "solar race" probably built the ancient temple in Sambur. Its ruins, like many others in the Mekong Valley, have not yet been fully explored. As a Cambodian road worker remarked to a European traveler: "There are cities with thick walls and high towers and beautiful temples up there in the jungle . . . cities that no white man has ever seen."[9] According to our present knowledge, the sand-stone temples of Angkor architecture appeared suddenly without known connection with previous architecture.

The Khmer Empire flourished from the ninth to thirteenth centuries A.D. Its brilliance is known to us through Chinese annals and inscriptions on stone.[10] The decline of the Empire began in the thirteenth century. The neighboring state of Siam (Thailand) previously under Cambodian control emancipated itself. Finally, after many vicissitudes, the Cambodian King Norodom placed himself under the protection of France and the French Protectorate of Cambodia was established in 1863.

State Museum,
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21. Siamese Lacquer-Work.
From: "Art and Art-Industry in Siam," edited by Charles Doehring.
Asia Publishing House, Bankok, Siam.

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Upon its emancipation in the thirteenth century from the sovereignty of the Khmers, Siam (Thailand) continued to grow in strength. In 1349, Prince Utanga founded the city of Ayutiya which remained the capital and the center of art life of the country for four centuries. The art of Siam, closely connected with the common tradition of Indo-Khmer art, possesses distinctive national traits of its own, which bring it closer to early China, rather than to India of the Gupta period. Some of its sculptures are marked by that intense "anguish of the spirit" so typical of Gothic art in Europe. "It is as though the whole of life had been focussed on one body."[11]

In the sculptures of Siam, especially the early ones, two distinct facial types are clearly discernible. One approaches the European as Roger Fry observes: "The eyes and mouth set perfectly horizontal, with a small straight nose and large square jaws."[12] The brows are very well modelled. The other is typically Oriental with oval face, very little modelling, barely marked brows, a small, receding chin, long hooked thin nose, and a small lunate mouth.

Siam, although borrowing a great deal from European culture, has at the same time preserved its political and cultural independence and kept the Buddhist religious tradition in a fairly pure form.[13] Arts have flourished at the court of the King of Siam. The theater especially, as in former times, is regarded as a sacred art. Murals and illustrated manuscripts of both sacred and secular content, starting mainly with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries exist. Exquisite skill has been achieved in gold lacquer work, applied chiefly on doors, window frames and temple furniture.

Annam, another state bordering on Cambodia, also borders China. It is, like Siam, linked with Khmer culture, but is much closer to China's sphere of cultural influence.

Another state which borders directly on China is Burma, apparently the oldest land in Indo-China (that part which under the Ptolemies in Egypt was called Chryse Regio). Very little is known about ancient Burma and it is possible that it comprised the whole peninsula of Indo-China. But, "landmarks for the earlier history are lacking."[14] As archeological research has shown Prom is Bur-

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ma's most ancient city. The history of this city is not clear, but legends of wealth and a power which flourished before the beginning of our era are connected with it. Two ancient temples, Bobogi Pagoda and Payagui Pagoda, situated in the vicinity of Prom differ in style sharply from all others.[15]

The great city Pagan, "City of Ten Thousand Temples" was built by King Anavrata in the ninth century. It reached its zenith in the first half of the eleventh century, and in 1284 was destroyed during the Mongol invasion. The city which was abandoned by its inhabitants more than seven hundred years ago consists only of temples. Nothing else remains. In the interior of some temples are frescoes which reveal a close affinity with the popular art of Bengal and the Gujarat School of miniatures.

Burma, the land of basic Hindu culture, represents, as it were, a natural door between India and China.

22. Manussiha, Man-Lion.
From: "The Thirty-Seven Nats" by Sir R. C. Temple, 1906.

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NOTES

[1] "The older inhabitants of Indo-China belonged to a race—Malayo-Polynesian in origin that had inherited tradition, faith—and perhaps art—from an ancient civilization, usually termed as 'Oceanic' because it is supposed to have originated on the islands of the Pacific Ocean, made its influences felt in Central America, as well as in South and East Asia, so that we find certain themes common to the arts of their different continents." H. Marchal, *The Art and Archaeology of Cambodge.*

[2] Dolmen is a monument consisting of two or four unhewn vertical stones covered by one large stone slab. Most of the dolmens represent some of the earliest ancient tombs. Menhir is a group of large vertical unhewn stone.

[3] Cambodians call themselves "Khmers." Cambodia is an Indian name of more recent date. There exist various contradictory theories regarding the origin of the Khmers. Some ethnologists trace their origin to the Caucasoid race; others, to the Dravidian; still others consider them a mixture of the Mongoloids and the Malays with the Hindus.

[4] For dating see Philippe Stern "Sur la Date du Bayon d'Angkor, Tom et des Monuments de Même Style," *Communication à la Société Asiatique*, janvier-fevrier, 1926.

[5] Female divinity symbolizing the life-giving force; fertility, earth. See the Chapter "Aegeans" in the present work.

[6] Edmund Candler, "Angkor," *Wonders of the Past*, ed. Sir. J. A. Hammerton, I. 1941.

[7] Georges Coedes, "Les Bronzes Khmer de Musée de Bangkok," *Ars Asiatica*, 1927.

[8] Ademard Leclerc, *La Cour d'un roi du Cambodge.* 1910.

[9] R. I. Casey, *The Four Faces of Siva.* Indianapolis, 1929.

[10] Henri Marchal, *The Kingdom of Khmers.*

[11] A. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art.* 1927.

[12] Roger Fry, "Siamese Art," *Burlington Magazine*, N. 280, XLIX, 1926.

[13] The Buddhists of Indo-China, like those of Indonesia, adhere mostly to the doctrine "of the Small Vehicle," Hinayana. Hinayana includes all early schools of Buddhism. Mahayana, the doctrine "of the Big Wheel"—a later development of Buddhism—was founded by Asvagisha in 100 A.D. See, Chapter on Tibet.

[14] Martin Hurlimann, *Ceylon und Indo-China.* Atlantis Verlag, 1929.

[15] "Pagoda"—common name for Buddhist temple and Stupa.

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CHINA

23. Bas-reliefs in the Temple of Wu Family in Shantung. (After Later Chinese Engravings) Han Dynasty.
From: "Ancient Sculptures in China," by R. K. Douglas. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVIII, London.)

Through Burma passed one of the land routes connecting the Occident with the Orient, the great Southern Route. The other, the Northern Route, passed through the deserts, oases, and steppes of Central Asia—from the head of the Hwang-ho (the Yellow River), through inner Mongolia, Turkestan, Persia and Mesopotamia, to the shores of the Mediterranean. This was the path of migrations and invasions; the path of missionaries and travelers; the path of commerce, the famous ancient "Silk Road"—through which Chinese silks moved west, the great caravan route on which the camel ("the ship of the desert") and the horse (inseparable from the inhabitant of the steppes) reigned. Thus, China's much discussed isolation, geographical and cultural, was only relative.

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Still that isolation was undoubtedly one of the factors responsible for the development in China's immense territory of a single integrated culture and art, characteristically Chinese.

Chinese tradition affirms that "the ancestors" came from afar; while Occidental scholars for the most part trace them to the basin of the river Tarim in eastern Turkestan whence they spread to the basin of Hwang-ho.[1] Archaeological research has brought to light the earliest traces of paleolithic culture in the Hwang-ho basin, at the western end of the great trans-continental north-Asiatic route. The remains are chiefly primitive, crudely fashioned stone implements. The greatest number of them were found in the Ordos country. For some unknown reason this paleolithic culture which was widespread came to an abrupt end. The stratum immediately above yielded no traces of man's presence, and corresponded to the mesolithic epoch, which presents a riddle in Chinese prehistory. The neolithic period yielded artefacts such as stone axes and arrowheads, found in abundance all over China, especially in the north and north-east. In Lin-hsi and Kalagan to the north of Peking were found, among other things, unique flat stones, apparently ploughshares; such agricultural implements have not been found anywhere in Asia, but very similar ones exist in North America.

Nothing among these objects of neolithic industry prefigured the discovery of remnants of a well developed chalcolithic[2] civilization near the village of Yang Chao Tsun in Honan Province. This civilization, named by Anderson[3] after the village of his first find, "the civilization of Yang Chao," he attributed to the third millennium B.C. It spread over a large area from Manchuria to the borders of Tibet.[4] Yang Chao finds consist mainly of potsherds which are of two kinds: (1) painted wares decorated chiefly with spirals, circles, ovals, and wavy lines; (2) cruder unpainted wares, decorated with incised or applied ornaments of geometric design. The unpainted wares represent a prototype of later Chinese ceramics both in their ornamentation and form, including the characteristic Chinese tripod. The painted wares, according to Anderson, show a striking resemblance with the painted pottery in common

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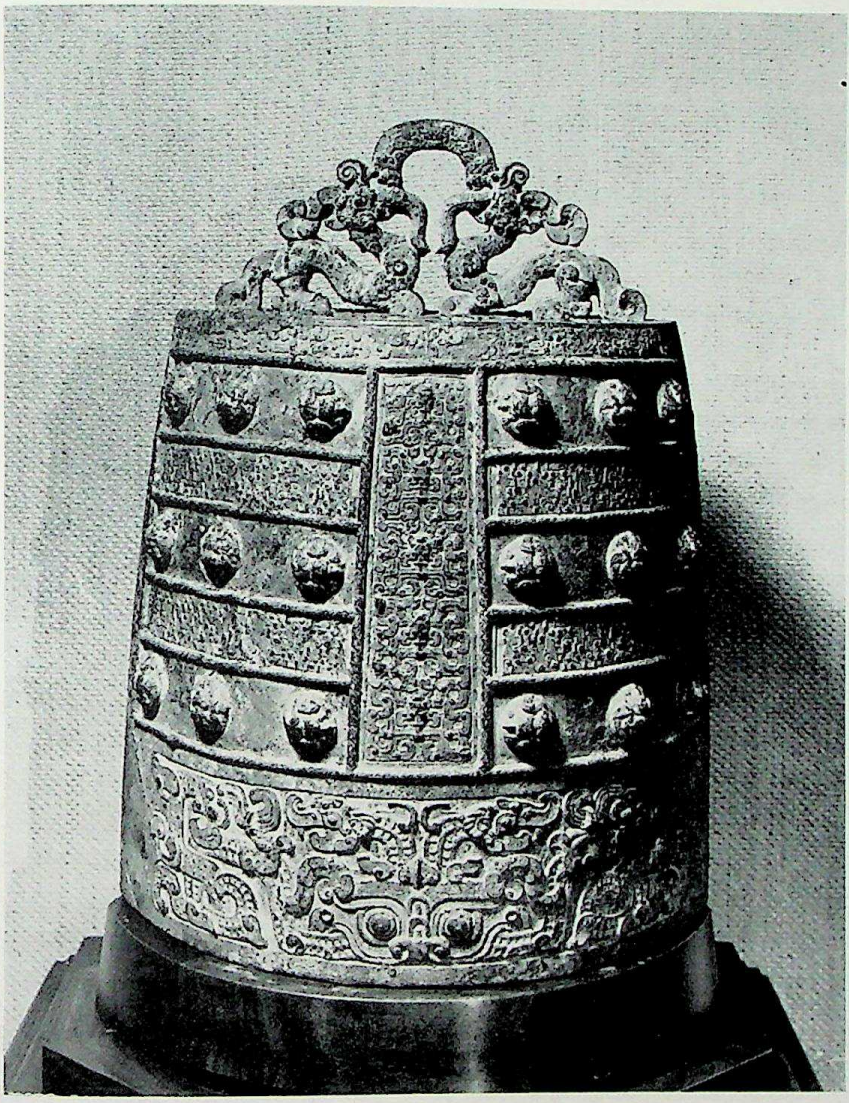

24. Large Cast Bronze Bell. V-IV Century B.C.
Courtesy of the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University.

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use in Eastern Europe and the Near East during the transition from the Stone Age to the Copper Age. Unlike the painted wares they have no further immediate development in Chinese ceramics and they completely disappeared during the following dynasty.[5]

The culture of Yang Chao belongs apparently to the period of the first dynasty Hsia (supposed dates: 2205–1766). Its founder Yu started his rule by "turning away the waters of the great flood." Legend entwines the names and deeds of the rulers of the Hsia dynasty.

Ancient Chinese literature contains numerous and detailed stories about these first founders. Although it is difficult in some instances to separate fact from fiction, it is nonetheless possible to assert on the basis of the stories that some describe actual historical events. It is extremely difficult, however, to establish the dates in question and a mistake of a thousand years or more may not be regarded as unusual.[6]

The dating becomes somewhat more exact in the period of the second dynasty Shang, or, as it was later called, Yin (1766–1129 B.C.) in the Bronze Age.[7] Ritual objects of ivory, stone, and mother-of-pearl, found in the Shang dynasty's early capital, Siao, in the province of Honan made it possible to establish from their inscriptions the names and actual dates of the Shang kings. They indicated a highly developed material civilization which differs considerably in character from the civilization of the Hsia dynasty, and it is possible that they were separated by a long period of time. No monumental paintings of the Shang period have come down to us. But there remain magnificent ritual vessels of bronze. Their ornamentation, as well as those on the majority of objects carved from stone, ivory, mother-of-pearl, etc., also served for purposes of ritual and magic. The ornamental forms gradually grew in number and complexity. Three motifs were, and still are, fundamental in China's decorative art; their origin and meaning are even now debated. These motifs[8] are:

1. Lei wen, the "Thunder Cloud," a meander type used as early as the neolithic epoch, in most cases combined with all other motifs.

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2. Kuei, a stylized, composite animal form, with a long and peculiar body, with combined attributes of a serpent and mammal; sometimes also those of a bird; practically a prototype of, or closely related to, the dragon which dominates Chinese art.[9]

3. T'ao-T'ieh, the "Horror-Mask," also called in the Sung epoch, "Glutton Mask." Most sinologists derive the T'ao-T'ieh motif from the head of a Tiger. A. Leroi-Gourhan derives the form of T'ao-T'ieh from two Kuei confronting each other.[10]

The Chou dynasty which followed Shang, remained in power for nearly nine centuries (1122–249 B.C.). Great treasures of art survive this epoch, but unfortunately of painting only a few decorated tiles are known. The art of bronze and of jade carving in the Chou dynasty reached the highest pinnacle of excellence in creative design and technical skill. The bronze vessels in most cases had the same functions and were decorated with the same symbolic ornament, as older ritual objects, but ornamental forms multiplied and became intricate, and motifs from nature appeared in greater number.

The Chou epoch at its height represents the Golden Age of Chinese history. The great Chinese Sages belong to this epoch.[11] Their philosophy became to a large extent the formative impulse of later Chinese culture which echoed throughout the world, East and West.

The fine arts were regarded as an integral, necessary part of everyday social and religious life. "Wake yourself up with poetry, establish your character in 'li,' and complete your education in music," says Confucius.[12]

The founders of the following Ch'in dynasty (255–206 B.C.) were of Tartar origin. They unified the country, centralized the government, built the Great Chinese Wall, and it is from them that China derives its modern name, Ch'in or Ch'in-land. The paintings of the Ch'in dynasty also perished, but the tradition of the art of bronze was maintained.

Under the next Han dynasty (206 B.C.–221 A.D.), the Land of Ch'in which had spread to the west as far as eastern Turkestan,

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maintained relations with the entire ancient world in which it held a place of honor.

We find a reflection of the artistic life of their whole contemporary world in the art of the Han epoch, its bronzes, reliefs, sculpture, architecture and applied arts. A particularly close connection with the art of Central Asia probably already existed before the construction of the Great Chinese Wall, built by the Ch'ins. Links are apparent with that still obscure tradition of the "Empire of the Steppes" which has been given various names, usually hyphenated with the Scythians: Scytho-Chinese, Scytho-Parthian, Scytho-Siberian, Scytho-Greek, etc. The problem is very complicated and who the Scythians were is still not fully known. Their art is distinguished by the characteristic "animal ornament."

There is no doubt whatever that the art of painting was an indispensable part of everyday life in the Han epoch. Portraits were in great demand. Mao-Yen-Shou, the earliest name to reach us from the chronicles of Chinese painting, was a famous portraitist. Regrettably, nothing remains of his work, or of frescoes which adorned house and temple walls, according to the literary evidence. However, we can judge the grandeur of mural painting in the Han epoch by the surviving stone panels in the tombs of Han princes.[13] These reliefs undoubtedly were inspired by contemporary paintings. The reliefs are compositions based on heroic, legendary and religious themes. These stone tomb panels of the Han epoch mark the apex of a long period of great art which gave way finally to another tradition.

The advent of Buddhism marks the beginning of a new epoch in Chinese art. It penetrated into China from India in two ways. On the one hand, it came by the "Silk Route," through Central Asia, whence Buddhist monk-artists and missionaries brought the style and tradition of the School of Gandhara in northern India. As examples may serve the sculptures in the Yun-Kang grottoes in Shansi province, and of Lung-Men in the Honan province, belonging to the period of Wei dynasty (386–534).[14] On the other hand, the works of artists grouped around Nanking, capital of the short-lived "national" Chinese dynasty of Liang (502–556), show the

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influence of Buddhist art of southern India, which probably came to China by the Sea Route.

The first Buddhist pictures of China belong to Ts'ao Pu-hsing—the painter of dragons, who lived in the third century of our era. He introduced the use of paper which partly replaced, but never completely superseded, painting on silk.

Buddhist religious painting which flourished in China for five centuries, often included elements of secular art—portrait, genre, and landscape. Painting a realistic portrait of a sage or scholar was regarded as one of the surest means of mystically transmitting his thought and teaching to later generations. In Chinese religious art the landscape, which is infrequent in Buddhist painting of India, occupies a highly important place. In Chinese art, nature represents a gateway into the world of religious experiences, the world of the Spirit. The cult of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, Buddha of Compassion, and especially the doctrine of Ch'an which later became the Zen philosophy, were sects glorifying Nature. Whether a Bodhisattva, a philosopher or an ordinary mortal, a human being is inseparably linked with nature. Nature is the manifestation, the garment of the spirit. "Landscapes exist in material substance and soar into the realm of the spirit," thus Wan Wei the artist, who lived in the first half of the fifth century of our era, described the essence of Chinese landscape painting.

Ku K'ai-Chih (344–406), the greatest painter of his time, produced numerous works with Buddhist themes according to contemporary texts, but nothing remains. A few paintings of secular content, most likely copies of a later date, are ascribed to him. They are two scrolls; one of them, in the British Museum, has illustrations for the text, "The Admonitions of the Instructress in the Palace." The other, in the Freer Gallery in Washington, illustrates a song dealing with a river nymph. Executed with a mastery of refined composition, line and color, the pictures are painted on silk, and alternate with the calligraphy. The scroll as well as the painting with calligraphy are characteristic of Chinese art. Such scrolls are of two kinds—the kakemonos which are suspended on walls, and the makemonos which are unrolled lengthwise, and in

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this way opened to view. Having been viewed, they may be rolled up again and stored. Hence from the Occidental point of view, Chinese repositories of paintings might be called libraries rather than art galleries.

The technique of painting on silk or on the highly absorbent Chinese paper requires an exceptional steadiness of hand. The material virtually allows for no corrections. The image which the artist envisages and which he wishes to produce must be delineated definitively. Therefore, the composition must be wholly formulated in the painter's mind before he can begin to give it visible expression.

The story about the painter Wu Tao-tzu is typical. Sent by the Emperor to the province of Szu-ch'uan to paint a series of landscapes of the river Chia-Ling, the artist returned empty handed. Asked where his paintings were, he replied: "I have them all in my heart." He then entered one of the palace chambers and drew a hundred miles of landscape in a single day.[15]

Principles of Chinese painting were formulated at the beginning of the sixth century by the painter, theoretician and critic, Hsieh-Ho. They are the famous "Six Canons" or norms of painting still respected, demonstrating their artistic validity and vitality. It is difficult to render an exact translation of the "Canons," and many controversies have raged around the specific meaning of different words. The following is Laurence Binyon's translation of the "Canons."[16]

1. Rhythmic Vitality, or Spiritual Rhythm expressed in the movement of life.[17]
2. The art of rendering the bones of anatomical structure by means of the brush.
3. The drawing of forms which answer to natural forms.
4. Appropriate distribution of the colors.
5. Composition and subordination, or grouping according to the hierarchy of things.
6. The transmission of classical models.

The first of these canons is the all-important one; for others are concerned rather with the means to attain the end which the first defines. . . .

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After the fall of the Han in 221 A.D., a long period of disturbance followed, which ended with the ascent to power of the Tang dynasty (618–908). The capital which had been frequently moved from place to place during the wars of succession was again established in its ancient seat of Ch'ang-an. Under the Tang dynasty the country was unified and restored to its earlier frontiers. Buddhism prevailed as the predominant religion. Other religious bodies and sects representing Mazdaism, Manicheism, Nestorianism, Islamism, which were seeping in from Iran and Asia Minor, were not persecuted. Buddhism allows for religious tolerance and freedom of conscience.

In this brilliant epoch of the Tang dynasty China's greatest painters produced the classics of Chinese art. Chinese tradition regards the painter, Wu Tao-tzu (690–750), the greatest of them all; the epithet "divine" is added to his name. He was a versatile artist, painting religious subjects as well as secular subjects, portraits and landscapes. It was said of him that "it seemed as if a god possessed him and wielded the brush in his hand."[18] "Rhythmic vitality" permeated his works so that they seemed utterly real to the spectator. It is told of his painting, "Purgatory," that such fear and such unbearable sadness emanated from it as to cause many butchers and fishmongers to change their occupations, lest after death they find themselves there.[19] This story offers an excellent example of the power which the art of painting may exercise on its spectator.

Wu Tao-tzu found in painting a home for his soul. According to legend, he went "home" at the end of his life in the following manner:

> Wu Tao-tzu painted a vast landscape on a palace wall. The Emperor, coming to view it, was lost in admiration . . . Wu Tao-tzu clapped his hands. A cave in the picture opened. The painter stepped within his painting, and was seen upon earth no more.[20]

To our knowledge nothing but copies remain of Wu Tao-tzu's works.[21] They were generally housed in palaces and temples and

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consequently were destroyed or lost in periods of political and religious disturbances. In the upheaval which accompanied the end of the Tang dynasty, three hundred frescoes and many other of his paintings perished.

Two other painters, Li Szu-hsun (651–716), and Wang Wei (699–760), were remarkable landscapists. The development of two schools of Chinese landscape painting—the Northern School (Pei-tsung) and the Southern School (Nan-tsung) is connected with them. The classification (invented by Chinese critics and theorists of the later Ming epoch), does not always coincide geographically with the north and south, but is rather differentiated by two tendencies in Chinese art. Paul Pelliot calls them respectively, the Realistic School and the Idealistic School. The founder of the Northern Realistic School, Li Szu-hsun, was also an outstanding statesman and general. Wang Wei, founder of the Southern Idealistic School, was a famous calligrapher and poet. It was said of him by his contemporaries that "his paintings were poems, and his poems paintings."

Painters of the southern tendency introduced the dry brush method[22] which produces an effect of extraordinary mellowness and translucency, and the "spilled ink" technique[23] which renders to perfection the nuances of chiaroscuric perspective and gives the feeling of distance, considered "the soul of the landscape."[24] Paint is used sparingly. The glory of the Southern School is monochrome painting mostly without outline.

The technique of the north is sterner. It prefers contrast to nuance and outlines of sharp, even lines. Li Szu-hsun, as well as his son Li Chao-tao, used an outline of gold.

Genre painting was also in high repute during the Tang epoch. "The Music Lover" by Chou Fang and "Ladies Beating and Preparing Silk," by the painter-emperor Hui-Tsung (1082–1135), were copied probably from an original of the Tang epoch. The painter Tsao Pa, and his pupil Han-Kan, who lived in the eighth century, were famous for their pictures of horses; their tradition is still alive in Chinese art to the present time. Painters of flowers, birds, and decorative subjects also produced fine works of art.

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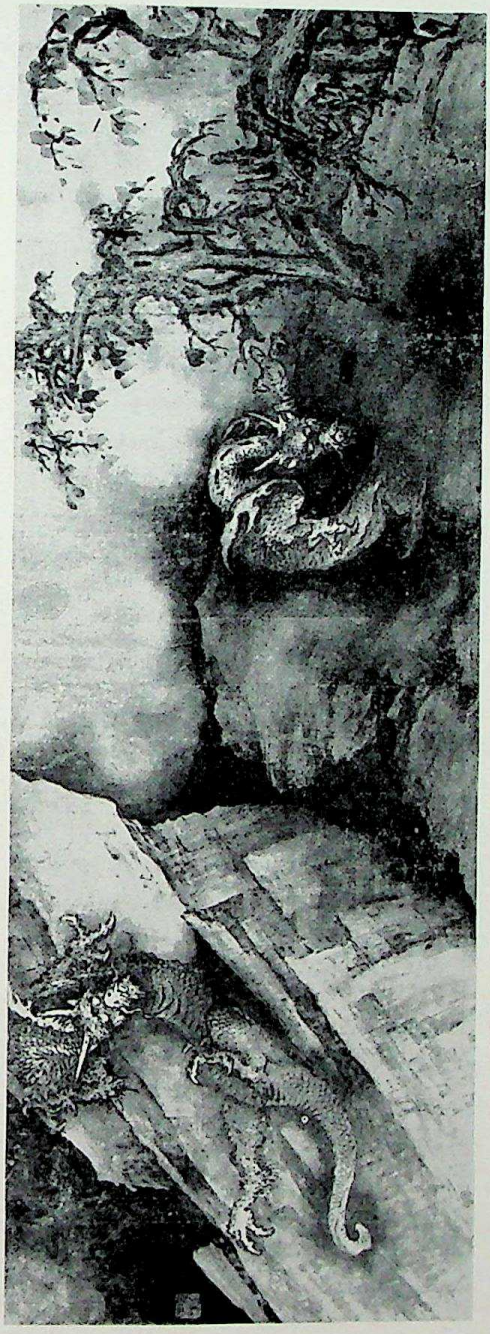

25. Dragons in Landscape. Style of Ch'en Tung. Sung Dynasty.
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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The Sung dynasty (960–1279) came into power after the downfall of the Tang dynasty and a short but cruel period of strife. Sung art represents a continuation, and in many respects the apogee, of the great classic era of China. Like the art of the Tang epoch, it is marked with that special "sense of balance"—keeping within proper limits—peculiar to epochs which have found a measure of spiritual equilibrium and universality.

Landscape painting blossomed in the tenth century with the activity of three great painters, Tung Yuan (ca. 903), Li Ch'eng (ca. 970) and Fan K'uan (ca. 977), who succeeded in combining the techniques of the south with those of the north. Their artistic heirs were two important painters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Mi Fei (1051–1107), and son Yu-Jen (1085–1165). They perfected the "spilled ink" technique and also used a sort of "pointillist" technique[25]—dots and dashes—for rendering clouds and fog. Mi Fei and Yu-Jen worked almost exclusively in black ink—which, diluted by water, when placed on white, gives nuances of grey—as if they felt this sufficient for the expression of the "rhythm of life," the eternal rhythms of the forces of Yang and Yin.

The famous painter, Li Lung-mien (1040–1106), carried the ideas of Mi Fei and his son into religious art and painted Buddhist saints in monochrome, which was an innovation as they usually had been rendered in color. He was famous also in other branches of painting and particularly as a painter of horses. At that time in China, many artists made the painting of horses their life's work. Specialization in subject matter which often assumed such excessive forms in Chinese art of later periods had already begun in the Sung (960–1279) epoch: a painter sought perfection in one specific subject, thereby deliberately narrowing down his field of observation and devoting his entire life to that single subject. A dragon, horse, or bird; a pine, bamboo, plum blossom, or a chrysanthemum—any one subject—must reflect the whole rhythmic vitality of the universe. A panel of silk representing a branch weighed down with plums, or a magpie on a rock—this is not a representation of the material objects only, is not just an "ordi-

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26. Figure in Landscape. Colors on Silk. Sung or Ming Dynasty. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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nary" branch or magpie, but a manifestation of the painter's attempt to find and express the universal rhythm.

Among the other great Buddhist painters who lived in the Sung period, were Mu-Hsi and Liang K'ai, during the thirteenth century. They were ardent followers of the idealistic Ch'an philosophy which was reflected in their art.

Under the Sung dynasty the various academies and schools of art unified and became one of the departments of the "Literary College." Later it was made into a separate institution, called the Academy of Painting and Calligraphy.

The three successive dynasties of Yüan (1280–1368), Ming (1368–1644) and Ch'ing (1644–1912) are called by Vadim Eliseeff "The Three Reflections."[26] Borrowing mostly from the inexhaustible riches of the classical epochs of Tang and Sung, indeed the art of these dynasties glows with the reflected light of the past. However, each of their epochs too is brilliant in its own individual way.

Under the Mongolian dynasty of Yüan (1280–1368), the equilibrium between the northern and southern traditions in painting was preserved. In the south, besides many other artists worked the four great masters—Huang Kung-wang (1268–1374), Wang Meng (died 1385), Ni Tsang (1301–1374) and Wu Chen (1280–1354) who preserved in landscape the traditions of Sung—the love of nuance, painting without outline, and the close connection with calligraphy and poetry.

Yüan princes strove to make their capital, Peking, into a cultural and artistic center. Artists whom Kublai-Khan had invited from the south worked at his court. At the same time, compositions on historical and military themes were produced by artists, based on the northern tradition. These artists were strongly influenced by Iran and northern India. Their works are noted for their contrasting colors, love of details, a leaning on outline which gives their designs a certain exaggerated preciseness. Portrait painting underwent a great development.

Horses played an important role in the life of the Mongol. First and above all a Mongol is a horseman, and the art of painting

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27. Magpie on a Blooming Branch.
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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horses received a strong impetus from the Mongolian Yuan-Chao Meng-fu (1254–1323), statesman and court painter, famous for his paintings of horses.

In religious art also the influence of the north, especially Tibet, was pronounced, since the Yüan princes had embraced Tibetan Buddhism (Lamaism). But the Yüans were generally tolerant, and on the whole, respected the freedom of conscience. The Great Khan Mongka made this famous statement: "Different religions are like five fingers of a single hand."

The Buddhist painter, Yen Hui, was famous for his portraits which were interesting from both the artistic and the ethnographic viewpoints. To be seen in them are facial types of the many peoples who formed the Yüan Empire.

At this time the Yüan Empire was immense and maintained relations with the entire world, including Europe. Many Europeans—merchants, missionaries, travelers—visited China under the Yüans.[27]

The epoch of the following "national" Chinese dynasty of Ming (1368–1644), started with a strong reaction against everything foreign, and a boundless reverence for the past. In art this resulted to a large extent in the copying of originals of the ancients and explains the enormous quantity of copies made by the painters of the Ming epoch. But the emphasis on the sixth artistic Canon—"the transmission of classical models" (or "copying" as Sei Ichi Taki translates it)—was often accompanied by a disregard for the most important first Canon, "Rhythmic Vitality"; and the art of this epoch, in spite of a perfection of technique, is marked with a tinge of dogmatism and coldness.

In landscape, the strict discipline of the monochrome began to give way to a countless variety of color combinations, a striving for "prettiness," an over-abundance of decoration. Landscape ("mountain and water") became overpopulated with human and animal figures and came close to genre ("people and things"). It is no longer so much "an echo of the soul" as a representation of the everyday passing life of human beings in a frame of nature. A high degree of development was achieved in architectural land-

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scape ("measured painting"), an inheritance from the painter Kuo Ching Hsi, the Chinese Hubert Robert of the tenth century.

The school which adhered to the northern tradition was headed at this time by the painters, T'ang Yin (1470–1523) and Ch'ou Ying. The Chekiang school, headed by Weng Chin (ca. 1430), followed the tradition of the south.

Shen Chou (1427–1509) and Weng Cheng-ming (1470–1559) did not adhere strictly to either the northern or southern traditions but worked independently and formed a school which came to be known as Wu, after the name of the locality in eastern China where it originated.

The interest in genre scenes and the society portraits reached its apogee in Ming society. The elegant feminine portraits by Ch'ou Ying (ca. 1530) are quite famous. As in previous periods, the nude does not appear in the Ming epoch, and remains foreign to Chinese art even to this day.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a renaissance of monochrome painting took place when The Literati School was formed. Later, the School gave rise to the Japanese "Bunjingwa," "literary man's painting," that is, painting combined with inscriptions.

The art of the best known Ming painter, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, represents a synthesis of his epoch. He was a statesman, collector, poet, calligrapher, art critic and artist, a man with universal interests, to whom Chinese art owes a debt of gratitude. But his universality differs from that of Wu Tao-tzu of the Tang epoch to whom painting was "the home of the soul." Rather, Ch'i-ch'ang's universality was that of an encyclopedist of intelligence, taste, and great artistic abilities.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century European influence began to be felt. A Catholic missionary, Matteo Ricci, about 1600, started a small school of European painting. The pupils were taught occidental perspective and the occidental method of rendering forms by means of chiaroscuro. Many other missionaries, such as Father Ripa, Father Attiret, Father Belleville were skilled artists. Their number increased greatly in the ensuing epoch of the

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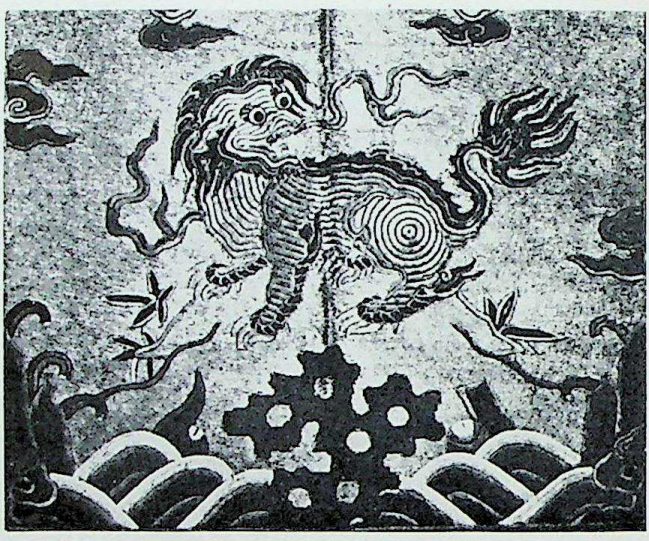
Manchu dynasty Ch'ing (1644–1912). Giuseppe Castiglione, an Italian Jesuit who came to Peking in 1715, was a fine portraitist; he employed both occidental and Chinese techniques. Many of his pupils and followers painted in both the occidental oil medium and Chinese ink.



28. Early Ch'ing (Shun Chih?) Insignia Square. From: "Costumes from the Forbidden City," by Alan Priest, New York, 1945.

Wu Li, likewise a Catholic, was the outstanding landscapist. Although he did not shun occidental innovations, he managed nonetheless to preserve the traditional noble austerity of the brush stroke. He was one of the six celebrated masters of landscape, among whom were the "four Wangs," Wang Shih-min (1592–1680), Wang Chien (1598–1677), Wang Hui (1632–1720), and Wang Yun Shou-p'ing (1633-1690).

Chin Nung (1687–1764) was one of the few who painted traditional religious themes. A great painter, who excelled in all forms of art and knew and used all kinds of technique, was Wu Chun-ch'ing (1844–1927).

The best contribution of the Ch'ing epoch lies in the realm of decorative painting ("flowers and birds"), which since antiquity

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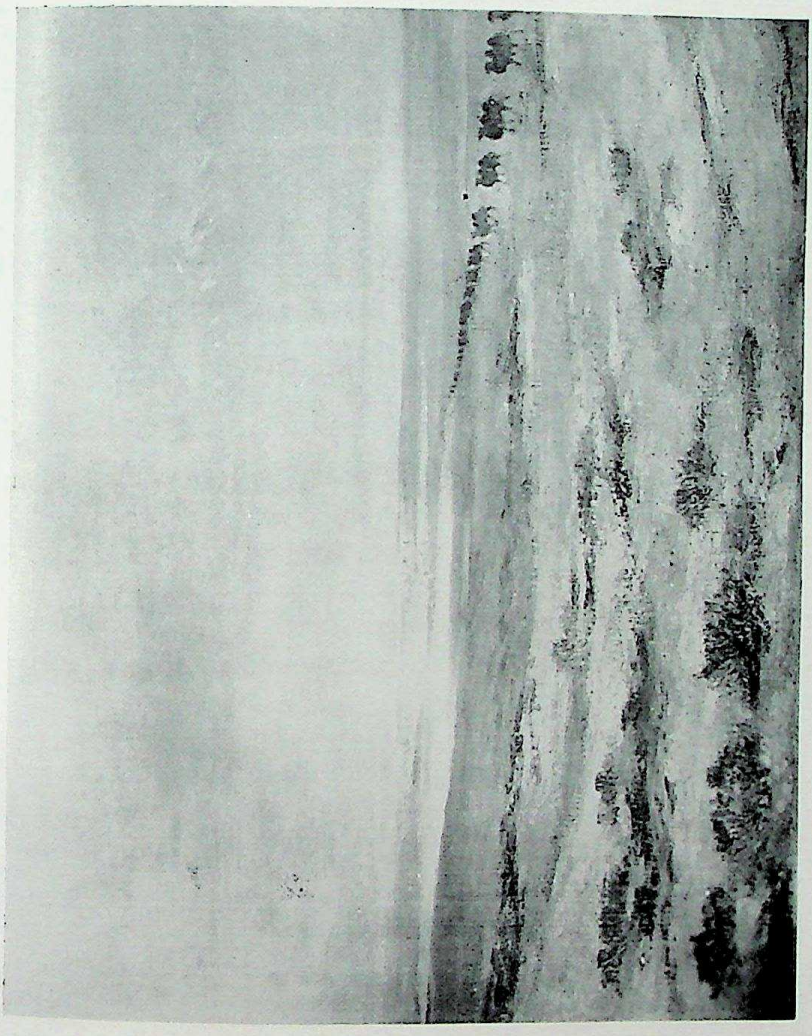

29. "Mirage," by Wu Tso-rjen (Contemporary).
Courtesy of the artist.

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occupies an important place in Chinese art. Yun Shouping was one of the greatest masters in this field. Throughout the centuries as well as during his life he had many pupils and followers—Pa Ta Shan Jen (ca. 1644), Chao Chih-ch'ien (1844–1927), Tao, and others were among his better known followers.

"Flowers and birds" in the Occident are unfortunately associated largely with the fashion for "Chinoiseries" in Europe of the eighteenth century. The term "Chinoiseries" was applied to all objects of Far Eastern style, both the imported original and those of European make. In the beginning, fine works of art were brought into Europe from the Orient. But soon there appeared immense quantities of inferior "art" objects and poor imitations intended for the average European buyer in the mart.

Chinese monarchy came to an end in 1912 when the Republic of China was established. Closer diplomatic relations with the West played a decisive role in producing a westward orientation. The Palace of Peking, which contained many priceless works of art, was made into a museum. An Academy of Art was founded in Peking in 1919–1922.

Since then, two trends have existed in Chinese painting, the "western" and the "national." The Academy gives two parallel courses along the lines of these two concepts of art. These two tendencies are not hostile to each other, and each is based, in its own way, on the classical "national" art. "It is already easy to see from the road covered, that both groups are working courageously to join each other and that we shall soon witness the inauguration of a powerful art."[28]

Ju Peon (Hsü Pei-hung), son of the painter, Ju Ta-tsang, is a great master who heads the western school. He studied and worked both in his homeland and in Europe, Paris and Berlin. His pupil, Wu Tso-rjen, was a pupil also of Alfred Bastien in Brussels. Lin Fong-mien studied at the Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts of Paris. Some Chinese artists have remained in the Occident, like Professor Wang Chi-yuan, who founded his own school in New York and teaches Chinese as well as western techniques in painting.

State Museum,
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LUCKNOW.

An exhibition of modern Chinese paintings was held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1948. All exhibits were brought from China. From them one can feel the amazing traditional equilibrium which Chinese painters have preserved in spite of the vicissitudes their country has experienced for so many decades.

Alan Priest, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, sums up the spirit of Chinese art in the following words:

Look and marvel at the power of good over evil. A historian of painting may record changes of fashion in color and composition, but he must observe that for a thousand years (some might argue for two thousand) the Chinese, come flood, come fire, come famine, come war, come death and destruction, have chosen as far as painting is concerned, to paint those things, those subjects which either do not change or change very slowly. The tenth-century painter in China painted mountains and rivers, birds and flowers; he painted religious scenes, heroic legends, and respectful portraits. These things endure for any man in any country. They are there at the end of hurricanes or wars.[20]

29a. Landscape. Sung Period.
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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NOTES

[1] K. S. Latourette, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, V, p. 531, gives the following summary of the various theories on the subject: "The origins of the Chinese people and civilization are still undetermined. Many conjectures, some of them very engaging, have been advanced, often with great positiveness. The hypothesis of an Egyptian source no longer finds support. Within the last generation, however, we have had scholars who have maintained that the first Chinese came from the Tigris-Euphrates valley, bringing with them Sumerian culture. Others have held that the Chinese and the earliest civilized inhabitants of Mesopotamia originated in Central Asia, the ancestors of the Chinese moving east in successive waves into the valley of the Hwang-ho, and the Sumerians west and south. Others, basing their arguments chiefly upon the analysis of primitive Chinese written characters, have urged that the first Chinese culture came from the south and southeast. Still others are inclined to insist that primitive Chinese culture was autochtonous."

[2] The Chalcolithic (copper-stone) epoch, about 4500-3000 B.C., is practically a subdivision of the neolithic. It represents the transition period from the neolithic (new stone age, about 12,000-3,000 B.C.) to the Bronze Age (about 3000-1000 B.C.). In the Chalcolithic epoch, both copper and stone were used. The limits of the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age are loose. The Yang Chao civilization belonging to the third millennium B.C., corresponding to the Bronze Age, is defined also (as it is by J. G. Anderson) as chalcolithic.

[3] J. G. Anderson, *Children of the Yellow Earth*. Macmillan, 1934.

[4] The easternmost point—a cave at Sha Kuo T'un, in the province of Feng-t'ien (Mukden) in Manchuria; in the west—the region of Koko Nor.

[5] Anderson, as well as the majority of experts, believes that "ceramics came to Kansu and Honan as a finished art, which in its—to us unknown—homeland must have required a long time to reach such a perfection."

But where was that "homeland?" The generally accepted theory points to the Near East and Eastern Europe, whence those ceramics could have been brought through Central Asia. But one fact contradicts this theory. Two Swedish botanists, Edmond and Soderberg ("Auffindung von Reis in einer Jouscherte aus einer etwa 5,000 jahrigen Chinesischen Siedlung," *Bulletin of the Geological Society of China*, VIII, 1929) have established beyond doubt that "plants imprints on one of the fragments were husks of cultivated rice." "It points," Anderson observes, "not to dry Central Asia, but to rainy Southern Asia, which is the homeland of rice."

[6] Two scholars, J. G. Anderson and O. Mengin, differ by about a thousand years in the dates to which they ascribe the Yang Chao civilization.

[7] Bronze Age, about 3000-1000 before iron came in use.

[8] The closest parallels to these forms, and in similar combinations, are found in Central America. Qwetzalkoatl, the Great Feathered Serpent of the Mayas and their stylized crocodile are very close to Kuei forms. The type of T'ao T'ieh has as a parallel the head of the Great Watersnake with characteristic lack of a lower jaw; and the quadrangular meander, Lei-Wen, is as characteristic of the art of Central America as of China. For comparison, see H. J. Spinden, *Ancient Civilization of Mexico and Central America*, 1949.

[9] A variation, the vertical Kuei, might represent two halves of a split Tiger-head, according to F. Waterbury, *Early Chinese Symbols*, 1942.

[10] Leroi-Gourhan, *Bestiaire du Bronze Chinois*. Editions d'Art et d'Histoire. Paris, 1936.

[11] We know practically nothing definite about Lao-tse, the mysterious founder of Taoism. It was supposed until of late that he was born in 570 B.C. in Honan province; but recent research has assigned the date of his life to a much earlier

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epoch. Confucius (K'ung-fu-tzu), founder of Chinese humanism, was born in Shantung in 551 B.C. Mencius (Meng-Tzu) belongs to 371-289 B.C.

12 "Li"—organized social order, propriety, good manners, politeness, necessary so that "we may behave as reasonable human beings." (Lin Yutang, *The Wisdom of India and China.* Random House, 1942.)

13 See, Eduard Chavannes, *Missions Archeologiques dans la Chine Septentrionale.* (Publication de l'Ecole francaise de l'Extreme Orient, 1909.)

14 Princes of the Wei dynasty were of Tartar origin; they embraced Buddhism in the fifth century A.D.

15 H. A. Giles, *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art.* London, 1918.

16 L. Binyon, *The Flight of the Dragon.* Dutton, 1922. Those interested can compare it with the translations of the following authors: Giles, *Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art,* p. 24. Hirth, *Scraps from a Collector's Note-Book,* p. 58. Petrucci, *La Philosophie de la Nature Dans l'Art de l'Extreme Orient,* p. 89. Sei-Ichi Taki. "The Kokka," No. 244.

17 L. Binyon, *op. cit.* He explains the meaning of this Canon in the following words: "We should say in Europe that he (the artist) must seize the universal in the particular."

18 H. A. Giles, *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art.* London, 1918.

19 Buddhism forbids the taking of life, be it that of a human being, or of an animal.

20 Giles, *op. cit.*

21 Two landscapes in Daitokuji at Kyoto, Japan, which were considered original paintings of Wu Tao-tzu, are probably copies too.

22 In the dry brush technique of painting, strokes with a half-dry brush produce half-tones which vary in intensity depending on the force of the stroke, and on the degree of humidity of the brush.

23 The spilled ink technique is, on the whole, that of a monochrome aquarelle without outlines.

24 Kurt Glaser, *Die Kunst Ostasiens.* Insel Verlag Leipzig, 1913.

25 It is interesting to compare this technique with European "pointillism" of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Seurat's "La Grande Jatte," in the Chicago Art Institute, is one of the best examples).

26 Vadim Elisseeff, *Esquise d'Une Evolution de la Peinture Chinoise.*

27 Two Venetian merchants, the brothers Matteo and Niccolo Polo, visited Peking in the second half of the thirteenth century. Marco Polo, the son of Niccolo, served at the court of Kublai-Khan for seventeen years (1275-1292). The account of his stay in China and his journey, which he had dictated to Rusticiano or Rusticello of Pisa, is a document of exceptional interest.

28 Elisseeff, *La Peinture Chinoise Contemporaine.* "Catalogue de l'Exposition de Peinture Chinoise Contemporaine au musée Cernuschi à Paris," 1946.

29 Alan Priest, *Introduction to the Exhibition of Contemporary Chinese Paintings, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

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KOREA

"Koryo"—"The Land of Beautiful Mountains"[1]—is the picturesque name given to Korea by the Chinese.[2] Another appellation, "The Hermit Kingdom," Korea owed partially to zealous preservation of her ancient religious traditions, but even more to the long period during which her borders were closed tightly against outsiders.

China alone was linked to Korea by centuries of traditional friendship yet despite their cultural and political bonds, Korea's culture and customs are notably different from China's. For example, tea, the national beverage of China, so important a part of life there, is unimportant in Korea.

Dolmens, numerous in Korea, particularly in the northern provinces of Phyongnang and Hoangho attest to the early settlement of the country.

Chinese and Korean records name the legendary king, Dan-Koon (about 2317 B.C.) as the founder of the kingdom Tjoson[3] (Korea). The dynasty founded by Dan-Koon, according to the records, lasted for 1,048 years, or until about 1,269 B.C. Records further inform us that Dan-Koon built several temples on the Kang Wha Islands, not far from Seoul, and that he once sent an envoy to the Chinese Emperor Yau.

Korean and Chinese Tradition tells us that Kitja, the Sage, emigrated from China to Korea in 1122 B.C. and settled in the region of Seoul ("Keijo" in Japanese); ten thousand followers came with him and set him up as king. The descendants of this philosopher-king, Kitja, ruled Korea until the fourth century B.C. Paralleling the advent of Kitja new waves of immigrants came from the north and northwest, through Manchuria.

In the second century B.C., the Chinese Emperor Wu, of the Han dynasty, established four colonies on Korean territory. The largest was Naknang or Lak-Liang (Chinese, "Lo-lang"), in the region of Phyongnang (Japanese, *"Heijo"*); it continued in existence until the fourth century of our era. This direct contact with

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30. Painting from a Kokurye Royal Tomb, 6th Century A.D.
From: Chosen Koseki Zufu, Tokyo, 1915–20.
(Catalogue of Korean Historical Remains).

the Chinese mainland embraced Korea in the sphere of Chinese culture.

The "Hero's Tomb" in the shape of a stepped pyramid probably belongs to the third or fourth century A.D. It is situated on the western shore of the river Yalu, in the territory of present-day Manchuria.

Excavations at Lo-Lang by a Japanese and Korean expedition[4] provided objects which give an idea of the art of the period of the four Colonies. Many of these objects were either brought in from China or were domestic imitations of Chinese models. A noteworthy find was "Painted Basket" from the tomb named "The Tomb of the Painted Basket" situated on the slopes of Goho-san ("Five-Peaked Mountain"). Human figures are painted on the panels of the basket's wooden frame. This painting, undoubtedly executed by Chinese artists, is a valuable addition to the Chinese art history of the Han epoch. The figures full of life and humor are expressed with the simplicity and precision in which Chinese art excels. In the burial chamber of the "Tomb of the Painted Basket," and in a tomb of an important Chinese official Wang Kuang, located to the south of Zen-Taihakuri, a large quantity of pottery of the Han epoch and other objects of everyday use of Chinese origin came to light.

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The burial chambers of the early eras of Chinese colonization, like the tomb of Wang-Kuang, were built of wood, while those belonging to later dates of the same period were made of brick.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, three Kingdoms existed in Korea: (1) Kokurye ("Kao-Kou-li" in Chinese) in the north, first founded on territory which is now Manchukuo, and later spread to the east of the Yalu river; (2) Pakche, in the south-west; (3) Silla, in the south-east.[5]

On the territory of the Kokurye, west of the Yalu, there are areas literally covered with tombs. Thus, in the Chi-am district in the province of T'ung'hua, half-way up the course of the river Yalu, there are (as estimated by Dr. Sekino[6]) no less than 10,000 ancient tombs, mounds and stone buildings.[7] Tomb chambers are often decorated with paintings showing an affinity with those of the "Royal Tombs" which are to the east of Yalu, on Korean territory. Among the latter is the group of particularly interesting tombs of the third-sixth centuries A.D. in the environs of Heijo (Phyongnang). In type, they are related to the common cave temples of central Asia with their lantern-like vaults. Most of the tombs were looted, but fortunately, murals were left, many in an excellent state of preservation.

These paintings, highly artistic in technique and composition, are generally based on themes of a religious character, inspired by Taoism. The painters paralleled symbolism dealing with terrestrial and super-terrestrial spheres in the tomb's structure and paintings. The bottom or terrestrial sphere on which the tomb stands leads into the higher spiritual spheres of the upper vaults. On the walls of the ground story of the burial chambers realistic representations of human beings sometimes appear—in rituals, hunting, and military scenes. The second tier of the vault is painted with representations of symbolic animals and celestial beings ("chonin"—genii, spirits of air) amidst motifs of floral and geometric ornament. This astral, disembodied world merges into the third tier, in the center of which blossoms a resplendent flower. Occasionally, in place of the flower there is a fiery sun disk or a celestial dragon.

The fire motif in tomb decoration is prominent. The three-

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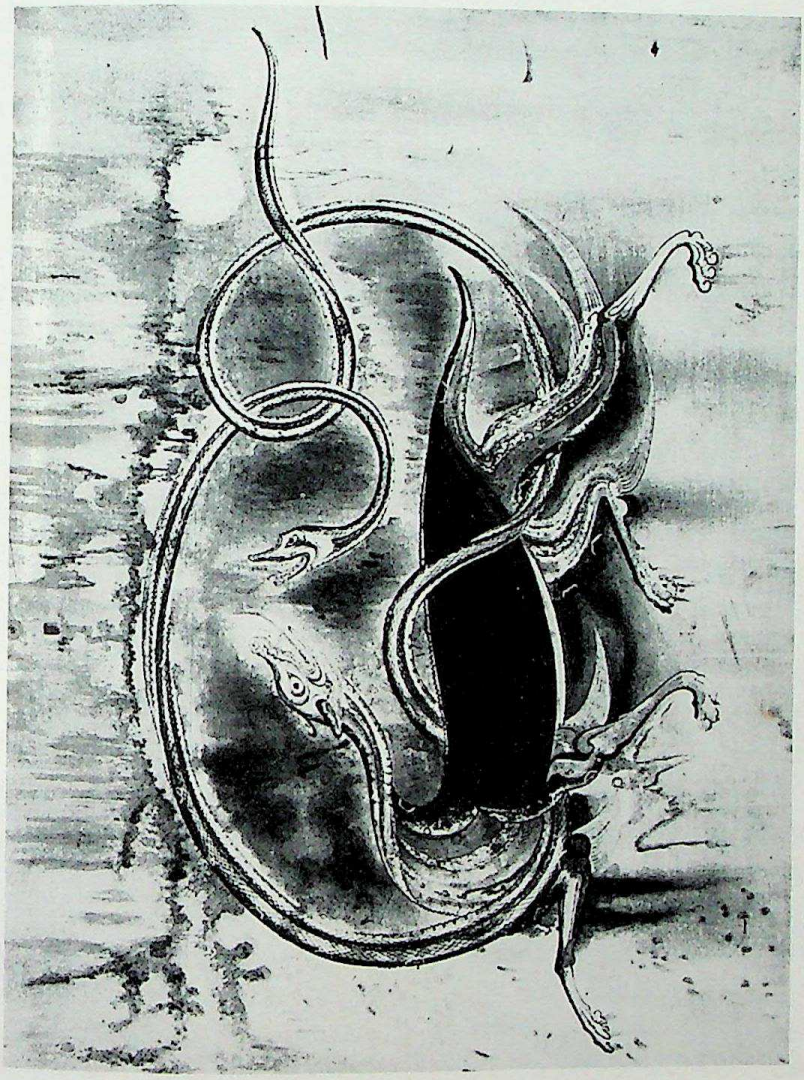

31. Snake and Turtle. Painting from a Kokurye Tomb, 565 A.D.
From: Chosen Koseki Zufu, Tokyo, 1932, Volume 2.

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chambers of An-song-tong ("Great Tomb") is aflame with this motif. Scrolls and waves, birds, flowers and gracefully constructed geometrical ornaments, all blending into an extraordinary harmonious whole, also appear here.

On the walls of "the Tomb of Four Spirits," are represented in medallion the four symbolized spirits.[8] Other motifs appear, a hunting scene, dragons, and a man seated in a tent.

"The Tomb of the Lotus Flower," in the same group of tombs, is painted with lotus blossoms of unique form. In color the paintings of this burial chamber are close to the color scale of the frescoes of Crete: the yellow-ochre background with cinnabar-red shading and the black linear drawing.

"The Great Tomb"[9] of U-hyon-ni is claimed by tradition to belong to King Yang-won, who reigned in 545–559 A.D. The main tomb chamber, to which two small tombs are attached, is three meters square. The paintings are applied directly on the granite walls, without a prepared bed.[10]

Magnificent plant-ornament, symbolic of the world, decorates the lowest stage; the second is adorned with isolated flowers, as well as with mountains and trees, and spirits and fabulous beasts in the posture of repose. The next stage—clouds and flying phoenixes, and last in the sanctuary of Heaven, sits enthroned the Cloud-King, or Dragon-God, dispenser of all benefits and above all of rain.[11]

But perhaps the most unusual of the burial chambers of the Royal Tombs of Kokurye is the "Tomb of Two Pillars." Its two pillars are painted with a dragon motif. Among the paintings on the walls of the tomb chamber are represented two columns, which recall, by their triangular decorative motif, the columns flanking the entrance to the "Treasury of Atreus" in Mycenae.[12]

Generally the frescoes of Kokurye, like the frescoes of Ajanta and Kyzil, are of uneven quality and execution. Outstanding individual artists, like the one who painted the remarkable fresco of the "Tortoise and the Serpent"[13a] (in the tomb of Yang-won) are recognizable. Various art trends which coexisted in Korea of the Kokurye period also can be distinguished.

Silla, one of the Three Kingdoms, said to date from 57 A.D.,

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gradually gained supremacy. To this epoch belongs the remarkable Buddhist temple, Sok-kul-am, "The Temple of the Rock Cave."[14] Sok-kul-am, dated 752 A.D., is located in the mountains not far from the town of Kyongtju. It consists of an antechamber, which is reached by an uncovered passage, and an inner circular chamber with two columns flanking the entrance. In the center of the chamber is a colossal statue of a seated Buddha. The stone bas-reliefs decorating the temple represent figures of knights and Buddhist divinities. The faces are realistic and masterfully executed. Most of them apparently are portraits which are typical of the facial traits of the different peoples and nationalities who were united by the teachings of Buddha. They evoke the concept of spiritual brotherhood of mankind.

Korean Buddhist painting (most of which is found in Japan, like the famous murals by Korean masters in the Horyuji monastery), both in technique and composition shows the influence of India and Central Asia. A bond with the painting traditions of China is evident in the representations related to the cult of the God of War, which here and there survived among the people, side by side with Buddhism. The cultural tie with China was not severed under the Silla dynasty, or under the succeeding dynasties of Korye, 918–1392, and Li or Yi, 1392–1910.

Although there are no extant examples of early Korean secular painting, from the literature we learn that as far back as the period of the Three Kingdoms and the Silla epoch, artists invited from China also taught secular painting to Koreans. There is a legend about the painter Sol-ko (around 681 A.D.), who drew fir trees so realistically that birds tried to perch on their branches. When the picture began to deteriorate with age, the monks in the monastery where it was kept, restored it. But they did not know Sol-ko's secret of giving "life" to a picture, and as a consequence birds ceased to mistake the trees on the painting for real ones.

From the Korye (918–1392) and Li (1392–1910) periods a considerable number of paintings remain, most of which are now in the Museum of Seoul. A considerable number of these paintings bear the signatures of the artists, sometimes even two or three

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signatures, creating difficulties for historians of Korean art. The reason for the multiplicity of signatures is that every painter, in addition to the name given him at birth, invariably adopted at least one pseudonym (*Tja*) for signing his paintings and selected a seal or sign (*Ho*), which also carried an additional name.

Among Korean artists, as among the Chinese, there was specialization. Some painted chiefly flowers or birds or other specific subjects. On the whole, however, their work does not indicate narrow specialization, such as only one kind of flower, or insect, or fish, so widespread in China. Korean art is more individualized, in this respect coming closer to European concepts. It is based on a subtle observation of nature, rather than on formalistic patterns and schemes.

Far Eastern tradition regards art as a gift from Heaven and reveres it as much as religion. To have been an artist was an honor. He was respected, appreciated, and in common with a priest, looked upon as an indispensable member of society. Many Korean emperors and princes were excellent artists. I-Si-ung, a son of Emperor I-Tha-wang (1864–1906), despite the fact that he was greatly preoccupied with matters of state, devoted much time to painting, considering it of equal importance.

About the year 1400, in the early days of the Li dynasty, political pacification and comparative economic well-being of the land served to usher in a flourishing production of Korean works of art. Many outstanding painters belong to this period, among them Kim Tok-Song (artist's name, Hyon-un) the well-known portraitist; Tsung Son (also known as Wonpak) predominantly landscapist; and An Kyon (1419–1451; artist's name, Kato; seal, Tuksu) who closely approached the Chinese art of the Sung and Yuan epoch. I Tiong (other names, Tjung-sop and Nan-nun) lived in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

Not infrequently, feminine painters are encountered; for example Sin Pu-in[16] who was a fine artist of the middle of the sixteenth century.

Yun Tuso (artist's name Kong-tja; seal, Hyo-on) of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was an exceptional

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32. A Pilgrim. Painting by Yun Tuso. End of XVIIth Century. From: "History of Korean Art," by A. Eckardt, E. Goldston & Son, London, and K. W. Herseman, Leipzig, 1929.

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painter of landscapes and portraits. It is said of him that he would spend several days observing his subject and then paint it in a single day of uninterrupted work. In technique and style he approached the Chinese school.

The painter Kim Hong-to (artist's name, Tan-won; seal, Sanung) on the other hand, was impressed with the European manner of painting, as his "Lying Dog," makes apparent. In the same manner he painted the Korean genre; examples are his pictures "Eating House" and "Wrestling Bout." Sin Yun-pok (artist's name, Ip-pu; seal, He-won) who lived in the early nineteenth century, also had a command of European technique. His work is expressive, forceful and shows a strong sense of humor.

Korean artists also excelled in other branches of artistic activity. Korean books are counted among the most beautiful of the Far East.[17] The work of Korean calligraphers shows great inventiveness, individual freedom and fine decorative effect. The favorite ornamental subject was the signature of the artist which emerged as a complicated pattern. Books frequently were illuminated with fine miniatures. Wood-cuts also were employed, though they did not attain as wide currency as in China and Japan. Illustrations were used in Buddhistic and ceremonial books, especially in the two books called Samkang-hangsil and O-ryun-hangsil, which are collections of fables and proverbs.

It is interesting to note that King Thatjong (reigned 1401–1418) invented a method of printing with movable type in 1403, fifty years before Gutenberg. "In order to govern," the King said, "one must spread the knowledge of laws and of books in such a manner as to fill the minds and make virtuous the hearts of men; in this way, order and peace will be attained."[18]

The production of ceramics was a very important branch of the arts and crafts in Korea, as in China. It carried on ancient traditions. "Ornamental clay tiles, such as are known from the Creto-Mycenaean period,"[19] as well as pottery with an incised geometric ornamentation of fine workmanship were found on the territory of Lo-lang. Korean masters learned Chinese techniques of ceramic art but creatively and freely adapted them to their own national

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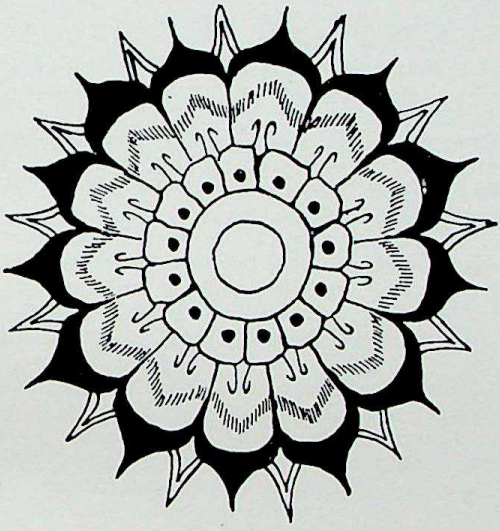
art. The Chinese themselves frequently expressed their admiration for Korean ceramics. A Chinese official who had visited the court of Korye in the twelfth century, wrote: "Their technique is highly skilled, and their color and polish are even more beautiful." He describes censers decorated with sculptures:

At the top of the cover is a crouching animal, and below, to support it, the open blossom of a lotus. . . . Wine vases are in the shape of gourds and are surmounted by small covers in the form of a duck perched on a lotus.[20]



33. Detail from the Wall Paintings in Kokurye Royal Tombs.
From: A. Eckardt, "History of Korean Art."

The epoch of the Korye dynasty (918–1392) is the classical period of Korean ceramics. Korean ceramics were to a large extent the source of the ceramic industry of Japan. After the invasion of Korea by the Japanese dictator, Hideyoshi, in 1592, the returning invaders brought back to Japan skilled Korean ceramists who initiated Japanese masters into the secrets of this art. The Koreans are credited with the discovery of Japanese local ingredients, such as kaolin and other clays of high quality, necessary for the manufacture of ceramics. This discovery proved an important factor in

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the development of a national Japanese industry which until that time had depended chiefly on imported materials.

NOTES

[1] For a peace-time photographic account, see, F. M. Trautz, *Japan, Korea, and Formosa,* 1930.

[2] This name (in Japanese Korai) reached Europe transformed as "Korea," at the time of Marco Polo's journey to China in the middle of the thirteenth century B.C.

[3] From the Chinese, "Ch'ao-Hsi en." (In Japanese, "Chosen," which means "The Land of Morning Cool.")

[4] See *Chosen-Koseki-Kenkyn Kwai,* Seoul, 1925. Expedition was headed by Harada and conducted by the Korean Government with Japan's cooperation in 1931-1933.

[5] Korean early history is not clear. Probably the three Kingdoms co-existed with the Chinese colonies—slowly gaining in territory and power, until the colonies became diffused in them. Finally, the three States gained their independence.

[6] For the account of discoveries and investigations, and photographic records see the publication of Nichiman Bunka Kyokai (Japan Manchukuo Cultural Society): "T'ung-Kou" by Hiroshi Ikeuchi.

[7] Jiro Harada estimates that the stone buildings—made of large granite slabs—antedate the mounds, that "almost beyond the shadow of doubt Kaokoulian tombs changed from stone to mounds" and that the change occurred at about 427 A.D., when the capital was removed to Heijo.

[8] Representations of symbolized spirits are often found in other royal tombs: the red bird or griffin, the blue dragon, the white tiger, the blue-black tortoise.

According to W. Cohn, they are "The Deities of four Cardinal points"; the blue-green dragon is the "Ruler of the East"; the red bird (Feng Huang, the Phoenix) —of the south; the white Tiger (sometimes replaced by a unicorn)—of the west; the blue-black tortoise ("The Dark Warrior") encircled by a serpent—of the north. See article by W. Cohn, "The Deities of the Four Cardinal Points," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society,* 1940-1941.

[9] Koreans call it *Tamyo,* which means, "Great Temple"; not Tanung—"Great Tomb." E. Goldston, London, and K. W. Herseman, Leipzig, 1929.

[10] A. Eckardt, *History of Korean Art.* "As a rule, especially on the exterior and interior walls of temples, paintings were executed on a surface of clay mixed with finely chopped straw and made smooth with lime or sand-plaster."

[11] Eckardt, *op. cit.*

[12] Eckardt, *op. cit.*

[13a] On the fresco the serpent winds around the body of the tortoise-dragon—which gives the idea of a struggle. However, in the postures of the two animals there is some kind of equilibrium, harmony. The snake is coiled in wide, free rings, it does not "choke"; the forward thrust of the tortoise-dragon does not appear to be halved or even impeded by the serpent's rings. They are interlaced in motion and, at the same time, in a kind of stable harmony.

[14] A detailed description is given by Bertha Goetshe, *Sok-Kul-Am, Das Stein-Hohler Kloster.* Excellent photographic record is given in *Chosen Koseki Sufu,* V, (Catalog of Korean remains). See also William Cohn, *Zur Koreanischen Kunst.* Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, v. 7.

[16] *Pu-in* means "woman."

[17] Madeline David, *Quelques Notes sur l'Art de la Corée* (on the occasion of the exhibition of Korean art in Paris, 1946).

[18] Courant, *Bibliographie Coréenne.*

[19] Eckardt, *op. cit.*

[20] Extrait du *Hinan-ho-fong-che Kao-li t'on king—Mémoire sur une Embassade Au Koryo* (kao-li). French translation by Mme. O. Kaltenmark.

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JAPAN

ISLAND OF THE RISING SUN

THE CULTURES of China and Central Asia were communicated to Japan by way of Korea. From early times, Korea was the elder sister and cultural mentor of Japan. Comparatively recently, with the penetration of western influences quickly absorbed by Japan but resisted by Korea, their respective roles were reversed.

Although the "Island of the Rising Sun"[1] by way of Korea had cultural relations with China during the Han epoch (206 B.C.–221 A.D.), the first historic data concerning Japan, fully confirmed by Chinese records, belong only to the fifth century of our era. Later during the reign of Empress Suiko (593–628 A.D.) Japan's first written chronicles, Kojiki and Nihongi, were compiled, and Japan's "History" begins. The earlier stages are classified as "prehistoric."[2] Yet, numerous names, dates and data pertaining to the earlier times of Japan have reached us; for instance that in the year 660 B.C. the first "human" Emperor, Jimmu Tenno,[3] commenced his reign; or the account of the journey of his uncle who was "dispatched from the 'continental' realm of Yamato,"[4] or the conquest of Korea by Empress Jingo in 200 A.D. Undoubtedly, much of the data reflect actual historic events, but they are intertwined with legend, and contain many chronological inaccuracies and even absurdities. Constant references to the miraculous intervention of divinities complicate the task of unraveling the Gordian knot of historic and mythical events, and historians are forced to cut the knot with a single blow passing through prehistory into the fifth to sixth centuries of our era. However, some estimation of her early inhabitants can be made on the basis of a tribe still extant on her soil. This tribe, Ainus, is called "Ebisus" or "Emishi" in the oldest Japanese annals, "Kojiki." Remnants of this tribe still live in northern Japan and on the islands of Hok-

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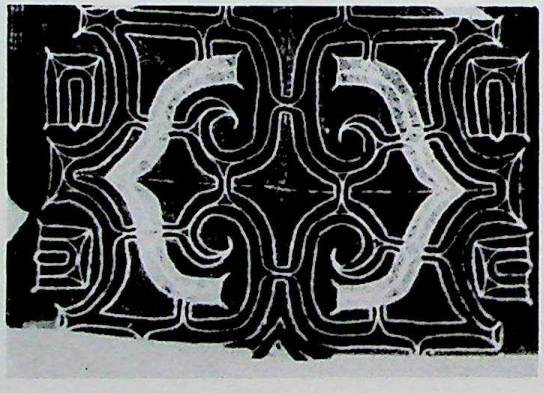
kaido (called also Yeso) and Saghalien. The origin of the Ainus is obscure. Their language does not fit into any of the established linguistic groups. In physical type, color of skin, facial features, they differ markedly from the rest of Japan's population.[5] In Ainus' religion today is a strange mixture of the refined and of primitive animism and superstition. On one hand, it is monotheistic, everything having come into existence through emanations from one Supreme Deity. The first to have emanated from Him was the fire-deity, "Grandmother."[6] The Ainus consider the bear to which a religious ritual is dedicated as a sacred animal. It is to the bear, as well as to the "big white dog which swam the ocean," that some of the legends trace the origin of the Ainu. In all probability, these animals were ancestral totems. The Ainu say that one of the ancestors was the divine Aeoina, "The Tradition Holder."[7] If one tradition among the Ainu is to be accepted, their ancestors came from the Kuril Islands and Saghalien.[8] In Japan, they found the tribe Koropok-un-guru, "persons dwelling below,"[9] whom they conquered and exterminated. Apparently the Koropok-un-guru tribe possessed a comparatively high degree of culture for it practiced pottery making. Later, the Ainus were conquered and crowded into outlying sections by new waves of immigrants from the continent and "the southern islands." Legend states that



34. AINU EMBROIDERY.
From: John Batchelor, "Ainu Life and Lore: Echoes of a Departing Race," Japan Advertising Press, Tokyo, 1927.

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"the people from the southern islands came on the breast of the Black Tide."[10]

Ainu culture as it persists today seems to have been arrested on a level analogous with the Neolithic period at the stage of primitive agriculture practiced by women, and hunting pursued by men. They are skilled in bone and wood carving, and make clothes with original ornaments. They seem to be ignorant of pottery making. Yet, it is supposed that in ancient times they did engage in this craft:

> . . . to them are attributed (or, if not to them, at least to peoples related to them and who must have preceded them) a certain prehistoric pottery, very different from the Japanese, and which in any case certainly is not Japanese . . . whether it is wrongly or rightly attributed to them in a distant past, there still remains the complicated character of this art whose disappearance marks an inexplicable arrest, if not a regression. On the other hand, the Neolithic pottery found in Japan shows occasionally disturbing and in no way explained affinities with the pre-Colombian ceramics.[11]

This pottery is entirely different from the Neolithic and Aeneolithic[12] pottery of Korea and China. On the whole, it is divided into two kinds: the earlier *jomon-doki,* and the later *yayoi-chiki,* a third kind indicated by Professor Nakaya[13] is a composite of both. The earlier type, *jomon-doki,* is usually dark grey and elaborately decorated, frequently with a knotted cord design on relief and occasionally with modelled representations of animals. The later type, *yayoi-chiki,* is usually reddish in color, graceful and simple in form and almost devoid of decorations, though sometimes they are decorated with wavy lines and zigzags. The essential difference between the two types is attributed to the difference in the cultures on which they are based.[14] Terracotta figurines, some with triangular, some with owl faces, were found together with the neolithic and aeneolithic pottery. The figurines are varied in form and executed with great power and originality. They are not realistic but probably symbolical and covered by ornamentation formed by circles, spirals and wavy lines, which shows Polynesian affinity.

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35. Frescoes of the Kondo of Horyuji Monastery.
From: Horyuji Okagami, Tokyo Bijutesu Gakko, 1921–29, Tokyo.

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Terracotta statuettes, "haniwa," of a more realistic type representing human beings, animals and birds were found in large quantities in burial mounds apparently belonging to a later "protohistoric" period. Tradition asserts that actually they replaced in the second century A.D. the earlier sacrifices of human beings and animals who accompanied the deceased into the beyond.

Ancient paintings with symbolic representations of totemic character were found on the walls of the tomb chamber in the burial mound on the Island of Kyushu. A solar symbol is prominent among geometric designs, executed in red, green, white and yellow. Bronze objects of the Aeneolithic period were found in the provinces of Yamato and Isumo located in northern Kyushu. The artefacts include arrow heads, daggers and halberds and bells decorated in relief (*Dotaku*).[15] In the burial mound round bronze mirrors of the Han epoch were found. Chinese influence is pronounced in the reliefs on the reverse of the mirrors.

The beginning of the History of Japan coincides with the advent of Buddhism, which began to penetrate Japan in the fifth century A.D. It received recognition and was made the State religion in the reign of Empress Suiko (593–628 A.D.) despite the strong resistance on the part of the Shinto Priests.[16]

To that epoch belong magnificent frescoes in the Horyuji monastery, in the vicinity of Nara. This monastery, built under Empress Suiko at the initiative of the Prince regent, Shotoku Taishi (574–622), remains to the present day an important cultural and religious center. The frescoes belong in the seventh and eighth centuries at the time when Nara became the capital and the center of Buddhist art in Japan. This is known as the Nara (646–793) period. Some of the frescoes of Horyuji are executed in the style of the epoch of Six Dynasties (280–581 A.D.) and early Tang of China, while the frescoes in the Golden Temple ("Kondo"),[17] are closer to those of the Gupta epoch in India. The frescoes of Horyuji represent in all probability the work of Chinese and Korean masters.

The painting on hempen cloth of the Japanese Goddess of Beauty and Fortune, Kijicho-ten, now in the Imperial Museum of

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36. A Buddhist Painting. (by Ryôsen?)
Ashikaga Period.

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Nara, belongs to the eighth century. It is executed in the Chinese style of the early Tang.

Towards the end of the Nara period the Buddhist art of Japan began to show signs of spiritual decline, and lapsed into academic dryness. But religious inspiration rekindled by the teachings of Tendai and Shingon, two sects of esoteric Buddhism, gave fresh impetus to art in the early Heian period (794–894).[18] The theory and practice of the sects Tendai and Shingon are inextricably associated with art. Kobo-daishi,[19] an artist himself, states in his "List of Importations": "The inner meaning of the esoteric doctrine is difficult to put down in words, but by the use of painting and sculpture it will be comprehended."

Eshin Sozu (died in 1017) is regarded as one of Japan's greatest Buddhist painters. To him, tradition attributes the image of Amida-Buddha with twenty-five Bodhisattvas, now in the Reiho-Kan Museum of Mount Koya.

The late Heian period (894–1185 A.D.) is usually called Fujiwara, after a princely family of that name which played a dominant part in the country's political and cultural life at that time. The epoch is distinguished by the appearance and development of a "national" style—"Yamato-e"[20]—and the growth of secular art.

Some of the secular paintings of the seventh and eighth centuries, such as the portrait of Prince Shotoku-Taishi and his two sons, or the screen painting "Beauties Under the Trees," have survived. Although executed in a "foreign" style (Chinese of the Early Tang epoch), they show features characteristic of Japanese art: sensitive stylization of form, precision of line, the use of sharp contrasts for more pronounced decorative effect, and the masterly execution of graceful details.

Traditional Buddhist art of that time also showed traces of realism in the poses and gestures of Bodhisattvas, in faces and landscapes. A famous artist of the ninth century, Kose Kanaoka, founder of the Kose school, illustrated Buddhist and secular themes. However, nothing remains of his works which are known only through literary sources.

A special style of caricature developed, the *Toba-ye*, so called

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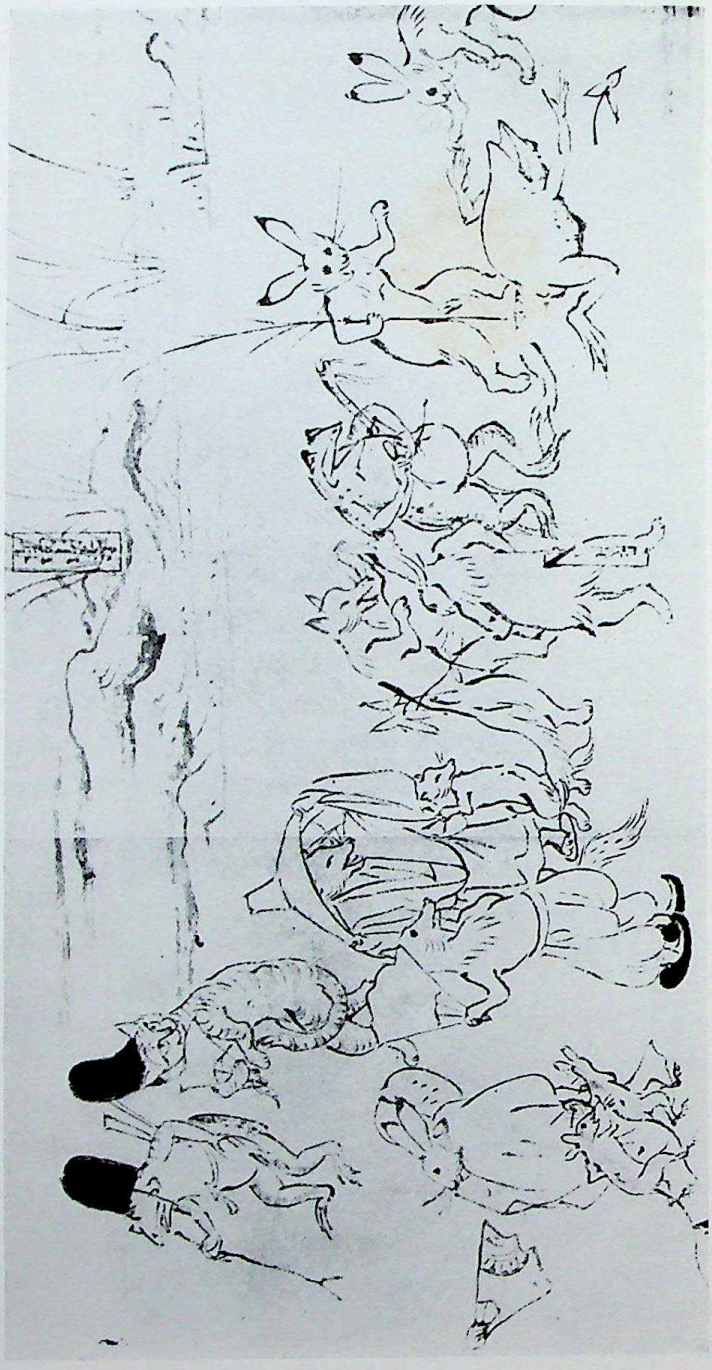

37. Details from the Scroll of Choju Giga, or "Animals at Play." Traditionally Ascribed to Toba Sojo. Heian Period, XII Century.
Courtesy Tokyo National Museum.

State Museum,
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after the Buddhist priest Kakuyo (1053–1140), better known by his ecclesiastical name Toba Sojo. He created satirical drawings of human beings in the guise of animals. Full of life and wit, his caricatures reflect and reproduce the life and manners of his period.

Illustrations by Takayoshi for the famous novel *Genji Monogatari*, written by Lady Murasaki at the beginning of the eleventh century, reflect life in a different way. They depict the life of the refined Japanese society of the Fujiwara epoch with its "conception of life as a continual ceremony."[21] In them we find daring

38. Illustration for Genji Monogatari.
The Kiri Chamber. By Okumura Masanobu.
Clarence Buckingham Collection of Japanese Prints.
Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago.

design, bright colors, and the use of much gold. "There is no hint of Chinese impressionism; cloud and mist intervene in the design as solid bands of gold."[22]

Towards the end of the twelfth century, the Minamoto family rose to power and the capital was transferred from Heian to Kamakura, in eastern Japan. The new Shogun,[23] Minamoto Yoritomo, encouraged the revival of the tradition of the severe simplicity of the heroic ancestors. Art of the Kamakura period (1186–1333 A.D.) in this respect represents an antithesis of the elegant

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court art of Fujiwara. Martial scenes replaced the scenes of court life and amorous adventures. The scroll in the Boston Museum, attributed to Keion,[24] may well serve as an example of this austere art of the Samurai. "For dramatic design, energy of movement, vehemence of action, the draughtsmanship here shown is not surpassed in the world's art."[25]

The realistic tradition of Yamato-e, represented by several art schools founded in Heian period—Kose, Takuma, Kasuga and Tosa schools[26]—continued to develop in the Kamakura period. Much importance was given to portraiture ("nise-e"—likenesses) and landscape. The portrait of Shogun Minamoto Yoritomo (a copy is in the British Museum) ascribed to the master Takanobu, is typical. The angular silhouette of the seated figure, resembling an enormous bird with heavy, half-spread wings, is monumental, simple in design, composed in straight lines. The simplicity and austerity of the color scheme lends it great force.

While the martial spirit of the Samurai was manifesting itself in the Kamakura art, a different influence penetrated Japan in that epoch. It resembled the traits of Kamakura art solely in its striving for simplicity, but its source was in the mystical teaching of the Buddhist sect, *Zen*.[27] In this teaching ". . . art assumes so important a place that one may speak not only of just religious art, but a veritable religion of art. . . ."[28]

According to the Zen teaching, art is the only natural means to sense and to express that which is designated with the word. *yugen*, "that which is under the surface," the hidden essence of life.

At the base of the Zen practice lies meditation in the midst of nature, which is a gateway to a state of concentration and contemplation. In consequence, the growth of the Zen sect led to an extraordinary development of landscape painting. Very many Zen priests were artists who brought from China, together with Zen teaching, the *Suibokugwa* style of painting. It is characterized by monochrome painting in ink, combining line and wash, which suggests and evokes, rather than depicts and explains, the thought. Its noble simplicity is well suited to the Zen spirit.

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Soga-Shubun, a Chinese painter who settled in Japan, and his son Soga Yasoku, excelled in this technique; others were Bunsei, Keishoki, and Sotan. These artists represented a school of art which came to be known as Chinese (*Kanga*). Sesshu (1420–1506 A.D.), a Zen priest and a master who founded the Sesshu School, and his followers, Sesson and Shokei, were also under the influence of Sung China. But Sesshu's technique of "ink splash" is more individualized. "With a few strokes of the brush—so few that you can almost count them—a landscape is depicted."[29]

Under the Ashikaga Shoguns (1333–1574 A.D.), who chose Kyoto for their residence, the popularity of Zen teaching grew even greater and its spiritual influence penetrated into all spheres of life and art. Every house had an alcove for flowers or for a work of art, be it painting, sculpture, or ceramics.

The tea ceremony, *Cha-no-yu*,[30] began to be widely practiced. It is a form of esthetic ritual which still persists in Japan. Its founder was Yochimasa, the eighth Shogun of the Ashikaga clan (1443–1474 A.D.). A passionate collector and a connoisseur of art, he was wont to show precious objects of art to favored friends in his "Silver Pavilion" (*Ginkaku-ji*), situated in a garden. A forest or garden is an indispensable feature of the tea ritual during which works of art are shown and admired. The quiet loveliness of nature and the withdrawal from the busy world inspire the necessary receptivity for the penetration into the beauty of an object of art. To this end, a light wooden pavilion, *chaseki*, in which the tea-ceremony took place, was usually built in a garden or forest.

> What is it, the thing called cha-no-yu?
> It's the voice of the wind
> Among pine trees painted in sumi.[31]

An original type of art, inspired by the Zen philosophy, was the "*No*"-drama, a short theatrical dramatization of a sermon on Buddhist moral teachings, performed by masked actors. The performance was followed by another, a short farce, in which "this fleeting world" was shown from its comic side, in order to remind

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the spectator that a disciple of "things spiritual" does not take the "fleeting world" too seriously.

Side by side with the idealistic "Chinese" school, inspired by Zen teaching, there continued to exist in Japan the Tosa school which followed the national tradition of Yamato-e. The Kano School, founded by Kano Mazanobu, combined the principles and methods of both the national and the "Chinese" schools. This school

> . . . may claim to be the greatest of all the great schools of Japanese painting. Of all the schools it is the most comprehensive, the most flexible and versatile, and possessed of the most powerful vitality.[32]

In the long roster of Kano artists, one of the greatest was Kano Motonobu (1476-1559 A.D.), a son of Masanobu.

During the Ashikaga Shogunate, Europeans "discovered" Japan. A Portuguese, De Moto, was among the first to arrive in Japan in the year 1542. From then on, it was no longer possible to "lock the door" to the West.[33]

The end of the Ashikaga Shogunate was marked by the civil wars on political and religious issues. Order was restored by Oda Nobunaga who was succeeded by his lieutenant, Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

During the Hideyoshi dictatorship (1574–1602 A.D.), his Palace, Momoyama ("the Hill of Peach Blossoms") became the center of the country's life. It is by the designation, "Momoyama," that this period is usually known. The style chiefly reflected the personal taste of Hideyoshi, showing a tendency towards monumentality and brilliant decoration. It is realistic and is flavored with an international spirit, since for several decades Japan remained open to outside influences. Hideyoshi and his attendants built expensive palaces. The painted screen was one of the outstanding forms of decoration. In Japanese dwellings, screens take the place of partition walls, and painting on these screens is a form of Japanese mural art. The six-panelled painted screens by painters of the Kano School of the Momoyama period belong to the best examples of Japanese painted screens.

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They combine energy and breadth with monumental design, and often with splendid colour. The lines have the imaginative feeling which expresses high artistic sensitiveness and finely developed taste.[34]

Gold was used lavishly, especially for backgrounds. The subjects were usually landscapes, animals, flowers and birds; screens painted in still-life representing garments were also in general use.

Probably the greatest artist of the period was Yeitoku (1543–1590), the grandson of Kano Motonobu. One of his best works is the *Pines in Wintry Mountains*, a screen now in the Freer Collection in Washington. Laurence Binyon describes this painting:

How simple are the elements that compose that picture; the great pines, the mountain, the snow; but what a sense of vastness, of majesty, of solitude! A certain solidity of effect allies such work as this to the masterpieces of Europe; and in its own kind I do not know where we shall find painting to surpass it, whether in Japan or in the West.[35]

An important factor in the Momoyama period was a new wave of influence from Korea. After Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea in 1592, many Korean artists and artisans, especially potters, were brought by him to Japan. From this time on the development of Japanese pottery as a great national industry begins.

In the early seventeenth century, the Tokugawa Shoguns established their capital in Yedo (Tokyo). The Tokugawa period (1603–1868) was one of national isolationism, caused by the Mongolo-Mussulman threat from the continent. In this period a decorative style was created, "most intimately Japanese of all the schools."[36] Its originators were the painters Koetsu (1558), and his friend and follower, Sotatsu. They based their work on the picturesque style of the remarkable screens of the Momoyama period, created by Yeitoku and his followers. But Koetsu and Sotatsu developed their own conception; "Starting from an abstract design consisting of related or opposed forms, masses, tones, they fit or melt into the design whatever they choose of natural form and colour."[37]

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Korin (1661–1716), a forceful and original master, brought the methods of the School to a culmination. His compositions achieve a balance between abstract and realistic forms, with a high mastery of stylization. Korin's brother, Kenzan, was also a known painter, decorator and potter.

The popularization of the woodcut belongs to the Tokugawa epoch. Artists, who had been patronized exclusively by the aristocracy, began to turn to the masses in search of subject matter and buyers. In contrast with paintings, which only the wealthy could afford to buy, woodcuts were not costly and were accessible to all classes. Accordingly, the subjects depicted were compositions of everyday life—the "passing scene" of the "fleeting world." This type of art, said to have originated with Ivasa Matabei (1578–1650), was called "Ukiyo-e" both in painting and woodcut.

The woodcuts, brought from China together with Buddhism, had existed in Japan for a long time chiefly as popular Buddhist religious pictures. Rare exceptions were illustrations for literary classics, such as illustrations made in 1414 for the book of history by Yudzu Nembutsu or the edition of *Ise Monogatari* which appeared in 1608.

Moronobu (1625-1694) was the first popularizer of the woodcut, which gained so wide a circulation in Japan. He produced monochrome prints, both broadsheets, and illustrations. His favorite subject was beautiful women, inaugurating a tradition cherished by a long line of Japanese print makers.

Moronobu's pupils began to color the monochrome prints by hand; at first, only with red pigment (*tan*), producing the so-called *tan-e* prints; later, adding a variety of different colors. At times, they also added black lacquer. Such prints were called, *urushi-e*.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, color woodcuts appeared. They were produced by a process of color printing, the invention of which is attributed to Okumura Masanobu.[38] The high narrow printed panels, the so-called "Pillar Prints," are also associated with him. Women were a favorite subject for many woodcut artists who worked in the eighteenth century. Among

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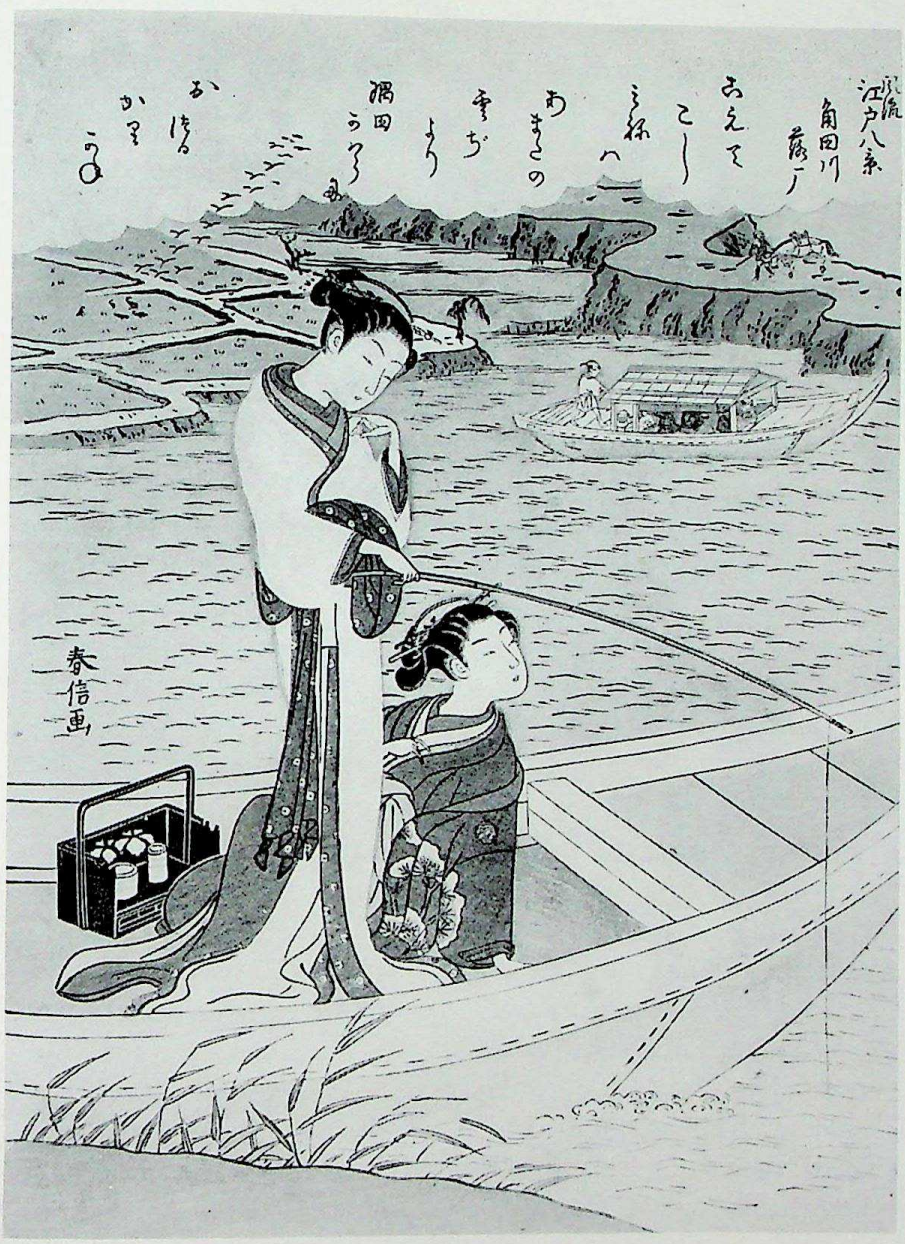

39. Geese Flying Down the Sumida River.
By Suzuki Harunobu, (1725–1770).
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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them, Suzuki Harunobu (1725-1770) was "gentle in spirit, in composition, in line, and in color. Except for differences of time and place and ideology, there is in his work a likeness to Fra Angelico."[39] The women depicted by Torii Kiyonaga (1752–1815) were more realistic,

> . . . more stately and mature. . . . The designs of their robes are more elaborate and fanciful, and the composition more complicated. Languid as August, they wallow in varied groupings through a succession of fetes, processions, garden parties, and boat rides, all composed in a grand, almost Venetian manner.[40]

The beautiful women of Kitagawa Utamaro (1753–1806) are more stylized, "extraordinarily tall and get themselves into all sorts of graceful but unlikely postures."[41] All these women reflect their eras in dress and changing conceptions of beauty. They are pictures of the fleeting world and passing scenes. . . .

Woodcut portraits of famous actors were also in great favor. Many artists specialized in their production; among the pioneers in this field were Kiyonobu (1664–1729) and his son Kiyomasu, Shunsho (1726–1793) and others.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, woodcuts were produced on a mass scale and their quality had deteriorated. The compositions were vulgarized, execution became careless, and the materials used were of low grade. Bad copies of paintings appeared everywhere. But, in the nineteenth century, the school of woodcutting blossomed again, inspired by the landscapes of two great artists, Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) and Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858). Their fame spread far beyond the borders of Japan and their work elicited, and still continues to evoke, perhaps greater admiration in Europe than in Japan itself.[42] Alan Priest calls Hokusai's woodcut, "The Great Wave of Kanagawa,"

> . . . one of the great, if not the greatest, representations of the sea to be found anywhere. Such a representation of rain as Hiroshige's "Great Pine Tree at Karasaki" is likewise almost unparalleled.[43]

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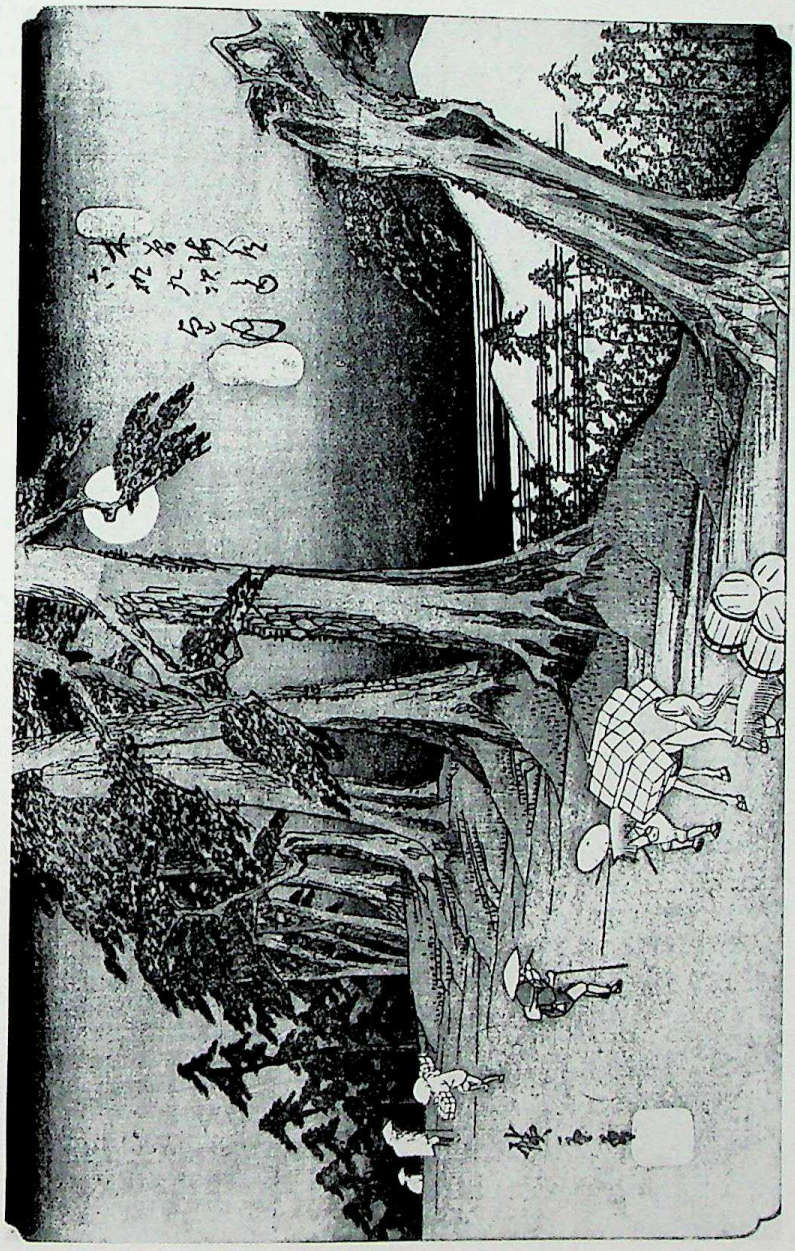

40. A Branch Crosses the Face of the Full Moon.
By Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858).
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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Like the landscape painters of the Zen school, Hokusai and Hiroshige knew how to render in their landscapes "the hidden essence" of things—*yugen*. "These men are painters of the unseen wind, whether it blows in gusts or gales, and they can ensnare the season, represent cold and heat—all, it would seem, unpaintable things."[44]

The late Tokugawa period is marked by the growth of naturalism. Its protagonist was Okyo (1733–1795), one of the first Japanese artists to make his sketches directly from life. To some extent he began to use Western perspective. He was the main source of inspiration to the artists of the Shijo School of Kyoto, of whom the best known, Mori Sosen, studied and painted animals, mostly monkeys, in their natural surroundings. Ganku specialized in painting tigers; Yakuchi, roosters and hens.

In the same period, the "Neo-Chinese" School[45] found its inspiration in decorative style of the late Ming epoch and the Chinese Southern school, *Bunjingwa*, that is, "the literary man's painting."[46] To this school belonged Buncho (1764–1841), Buzon (1716–1783), Kanzan (1793–1841).

Some independent artists sought inspiration in the past. Soga Shohaku represented Chinese sages in his ink paintings. Totsugen and Tameyasu, in the early nineteenth century, followed the Yamato tradition of the Tosa school. Yosai, who was connected with the Kano school, painted heroic subjects. Zeshin was famous for his lacquer paintings.

The Meiji, "Enlightened Government," period saw the abolishment of feudalism and the Emperor once again assumed full sovereignty. The capital was permanently transferred to Yedo which was called Tokyo, "Eastern Capital." The Meiji-Taisho era (1868–1926) was one of free relations with the West and absorption of Western influences.

As early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, individual painters were familiar with the European style and technic. In the seventeenth century, Yamado Emosaku learned to paint in oil from Dutch masters. These masters were the first teachers of European painting in Japan and their style exercised a strong in-

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fluence upon the whole Realistic School, *Ukiyo-e*. The members of the school followed to some extent the rules of Western perspective in their woodcuts.

In 1857, the British artist, Charles Wirgman, came to Japan. He had many Japanese pupils, one of whom was Takahashi Yuichi. In 1876, the Italian Fontanezi, who came to Japan at the invitation of the government, also founded a school of painting. Thus the European style of painting gained wide recognition.

Like India, and to some extent China, Japan experienced a phase of enthusiasm for European methods which resulted in a set-back of the national tradition.

But this was only temporary and was followed shortly by a national renaissance. In Japan, as in India, the first to direct the government's attention to the value of national monuments and the necessity of preserving them was an Occidental, E. F. Fennolosa, an American, who occupied the chair of philosophy in the Tokyo University. Under his influence a system was organized for the examination and preservation of the country's monuments of art —The National Treasure. Fennolosa's books contributed to the knowledge and understanding of Japanese art in the West.[47]

The year 1888 witnessed the founding of a new government School of Fine Arts with a faculty equally skilled in Western and national Japanese technics. Its techers, Kano Kogai and Hashinoto Gaho were disciples of the Kano school. They laid the foundation of a national art movement which culminated in the organization of the "Nihon Bijutsu-in" (Institute of Japanese Art). Aware of the value of the country's cultural heritage, the Institute publicized the national style and urged return to the national tradition.

Today, during the current Showa era, there remain two tendencies in Japanese art—the national and the Western. The former does not limit itself to imitations of the past. By studying the treasures of that past, each artist strives to develop his own individual style which often harmoniously "blends the traditions of ancient painting with a modern realism."[48]

The Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in Tokyo, "Teikoku Bijutsu-

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in" has a special department of painting in the Japanese style. The professors of the Academy are recruited from the ranks of the best Japanese painters, from Tokyo and Kyoto, the two cities which are the main Japanese centers of art.

The Showa era emphasizes international relations, the development of machine manufacture, and commerce on a world-wide scale. The encroaching machine, the rival and enemy of craftsman and artist, had an adverse effect upon the rich popular art of Japan. That charming product of Japan, hand-made toys, so closely associated with local cultures and ancient traditions, is in danger of extinction.

The term *Japonaiseries* was coined in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. Like the *Chinoiseries* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the term used to designate any Japanese object in Europe, both imported and of European manufacture.

The first introduction of the Japanese woodcut to Parisian art circles occurred accidentally. In 1856 the artist Félix Braquemond noticed that some porcelain objects sent to him from Japan were wrapped in prints. The sheets, so casually used as wrapping paper, turned out to be parts of Hokusai's *Mangua* ("rapid sketches"). They aroused wonder and admiration in Paris. In these "rapid sketches" of the Japanese master, Europeans found a new approach to nature, an element new to European painting—motion.

> To render motion, this is his great ambition. . . . Therein, really, lies the character of Hokusai's design. This is what impresses us, occasionally, it must be admitted disorients us. Our whole art is opposed to this doctrine. It is built on the absence of movement, on a sort of perpetual retouching of nature. . . .[49]

The Goncourt brothers were zealous admirers of Hokusai, the "old man mad with drawing," (as he described himself in his old age) and of other Japanese masters of the Realistic School, *Ukiyo-e*. They collected Japanese prints and other *japonaiseries* and familiarized Europeans with them through their books. Soon Europe succumbed to a fad for all things Japanese.

Japanese influence became particularly strong in the graphic

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arts, book illustrations, posters and ornaments. Nor was it less pronounced in architecture. The "modern style" of European and American architecture is to a large extent impressed by the interior of the Japanese house with its sliding screens, its refined simplicity, its uncluttered rooms which allow greater freedom of movement and admit more light and air. The wide door opening upon a terrace or garden of any size, from a national park to a bed of flowers under the window, this linking of a house with nature is an echo of the Tea-ceremony, *Cha-no-yu. Chaseki*, the tea pavilion in the garden,[50] is often the prototype of either a most modern and expensive villa, or of a simple bungalow, or a tourist cabin in which that modern pilgrim, the motorist, stops overnight.

NOTES

[1] Jih-Pen, as Japan was called by the Chinese. Dutch merchants transformed this word into "Japan."

[2] Noritake Tsudo designates as "archaic" the period from the Stone Age till about the middle of the sixth century A.D. He divides it into "prehistoric" (Neolithic and Aeneolithic) and "proto-historic"—"from the earliest time when the Japanese nation was consolidated in Yamato" till the introduction of Buddhism in the middle of the sixth century of our era. Noritake Tsudo, *Handbook of Japanese Art*. 1935.

[3] Prior to that time, tradition maintains (as stated in the two chronicles, *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*) Japan was ruled by the *Kami* (gods). Jimmu Tenno (a name of later origin which replaced his "divine" name of Kami Yamato Iware-biko) while a mortal himself, was of divine origin—a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. Jimmu, "Spirit of War," is identified with the old God of War.

[4] Yamato—native name of Japan.

[5] As L. H. Buxton assumes: ". . . they are probably the remains of an old proto-nordic population once widely spread over Northern Asia." L. H. Buxton, *The People of Asia*. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1925.

[6] In the Ainu language, the same word—*huchi*—means both "Grandmother" and "Fire." John Batchelor derives from it the Japanese word "*Fuji*" (fire). See J. Batchelor, *Ainu Life and Lore*. Japan Advertising Press, 1927. Ainu religious beliefs to a considerable degree form the basis of Japan's native religion, Shinto.

[7] *Ainu Legends, as Told by One of Them*, translated by John Batchelor. Tokyo, Kyobunkan, 1924.

[8] Wooden sculptures of human beings and animals including crocodiles, were found in Ainu tombs on the island of Saghalien. See the report by I. Poliakov on the investigation on Saghalien and in the south Ussuryisk region. Imperial Academy of Science, 1884.

[9] The word Koropok-un-guru, "Persons dwelling below," with which the Ainu designate that tribe, is often interpreted as "dwarfs." And yet, it "does not carry the idea of dwarf in it at all." Batchelor in *Ainu Life and Lore* regards those dwarfs as mythical, although he does admit that some kind of aboriginal tribe inhabited Japan prior to the appearance of the Ainu.

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[10] F. Brinkley, *A History of the Japanese People.* 1912. Ainu tradition contains a legend of the flood, in which the whole Ainu tribe perished except a few individuals who escaped to the mountain top.

[11] Carl Hentze, *Objets Rituels, Croyances, et Dieux de la Chine Antique et de l'Amerique.*

[12] Copper Age (preceding the use of bronze).

[13] Jiujiro Nakaya, "L'Age de Pierre au Japon," in *Formes,* April, 1930.

[14] Noritake Tsudo, *Handbook of Japanese Art,* 1935.

[15] Reliefs on the *dotaku* represent genre scenes which yield information about the life of their manufacturers: they lived in high wooden houses with upper stories entered by means of portable ladders. For hunting, they used bows and arrows and were accompanied by dogs. Their boats had high, sharply curved poops resembling those of Viking boats or gondolas.

[16] At the end a compromise was achieved and many of the Shinto divinities were accepted into the pantheon of Japanese Buddhism in the guise of Bodhisattvas.

[17] Golden Temple, "Kondo," completed in 607 A.D. was damaged by fire and restored in the years 704-715 A.D.

[18] Heian-jo—"Castle of Peace"—as Kyoto, which became the capital in 794 A.D., was called.

[19] The teaching of Tendai and Shingon sects was brought from China, in the beginning of the ninth century, by two buddhist monks Dengyo-daishi and Kobo-daishi.

[20] Painting of Yamato.

[21] L. Binyon, "Japanese Painting and Prints" in *Encyclopedia Britannica.*

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] "The Great General," commander in chief of militant barons. The Shogun was the virtual ruler of the empire and treated the Emperor (Mikado) as a puppet. But the Mikado, supposedly a descendant in an unbroken line of the great Sun-Goddess, Amaterasu, was never deposed and remained the nominal sovereign.

[24] Keion, one of the "three great ones" of the Kamakura period (the other two being Minzumaga and Nobuzane). Possibly, "Keion" is a legendary name.

[25] Binyon, *op. cit.*

[26] The Kose school was formed in the ninth century by Kose Kanaoka. Nothing remains of the works of this artist, praised in contemporary literature. Of the other art schools, the Tosa school was the last to be founded, in the late Fujiwara period.

[27] *Chan* or *Zen*—Chinese and Japanese corruptions of the Sanscrit word, *Dhyana* which means "meditation." J. de Manzierly, "Peregrinations Asiatiques," Paris, 1935.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] Jiro Harada, *A Glimpse of Japanese Ideals,* Tokyo, 1937.

[30] Literally, "the hot water of tea."

[31] Harada, *op. cit.* Joshinsai's poem of Cha-no-yu. *Sumi*—black monochrome.

[32] Binyon, *op. cit.*

[33] Early commercial relations had little connection with art (in 1543, the Portuguese Mendez Pinto, brought guns).

[34] Binyon, *op. cit.*

[35] Laurence Binyon, *Japanese Art (The Kano School).*

[36] Laurence Binyon, *Japanese Painting and Print.*

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] This process had been used in China long before, but Japanese artists seem to have arrived at it by themselves. It utilized a series of blocks, each intended to reproduce certain parts of the print in a definite color. The blocks were inked and applied to the paper consecutively, and since their impressions in different colors were superimposed, multicolored print resulted.

[39] Alan Priest, *Japanese Prints from the Henry L. Phillips Collection.* New York, 1947.

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[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] The Japanese connoisseurs were somewhat contemptuous of the "modern" democratic art, *Ukiyo-e*, in general, and particularly of the woodcut.

[43] Alan Priest, *Japanese Prints from the Henry L. Phillips Collection*, New York, 1947.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] Not to be confused with the "Chinese School" of the fifteenth century inspired by Zen ideas.

[46] The combination of calligraphy and painting: a text, usually a poem in Chinese, was written in ink above a drawing, generally of a landscape.

[47] E. F. Fennolosa, *Epochs of China and Japanese Art*, 1912.

[48] V. Elisseeff, *Peinture Contemporaine au Japon*, 1923. He speaks about a painting by Miss Uemura Shoen, an artist of the Kyoto group.

[49] A. Renan, "La Mangua De Hokusai," *Le Japon Artistique*, 1888.

[50] Jiro Harada, "Japanese Architecture," in *Japanese Art* (a selection of articles from Encyclopaedia Britannica).

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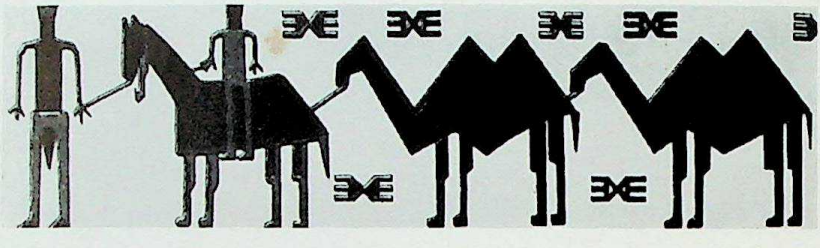
FROM THE CAUCASUS TO KOREA

(Central Asia)



41. Tribal Carpet Design.
From: "L'Art de L'Asie Centrale" by N. Simakov. Published by Russian Imperial Sty. of Encouragement of Fine Arts, 1883.

Mountains, plateaus, deserts, steppes . . . and the crumbling ruins of once great empires . . . remnants strewn throughout the endless expanse from the Caucasus to Korea. These are witnesses that

. . . there was in the prehistoric periods from at least late ("upper") paleolithic times on, "one world" to a degree unequalled in any historical epoch. Man about 30,000 to 20,000 B.C. . . . had apparently more in common from Wales to Spain to East Asia than did citizens of the Achaemenid Empire or beneficiaries (not to mention victims) of the Pax Romana.[1]

We have already mentioned the archaeological finds in the village of Malta, near Irkutsk, in the Lake Baikal region of Siberia, which revealed a culture of the paleolithic period resembling the one to which the "Venus of Aurignac" in France, and the "Venus of Willendorf" in Austria belonged. In Malta there is a great variety of female statuettes. The "Aurignacian-Solutrean"[2] Venuses of Malta are more naturalistic than their European sisters; some of them give an impression of "portraiture." Gerassimoff[3] is inclined

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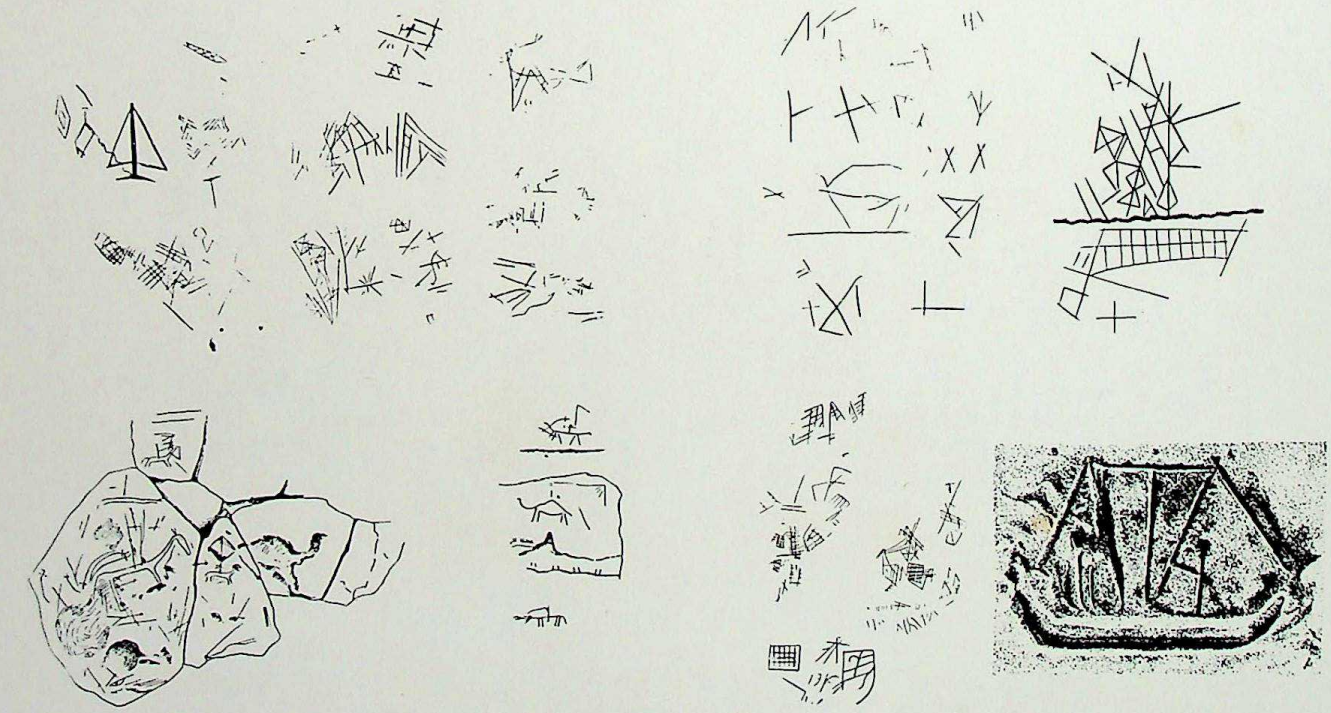

42. Pictographic Signs and Inscriptions on the Rocks at Kara-tubeh and Besh-tubeh (Khorezm). From: "Drevnyi Khorezm," by S. P. Tolstov, M.G.I., Moscow, 1948.

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to see in them a stage of paleolithic art which is chronologically earlier than the European "Aurignacian Venuses." The Malta statuettes, as well as other sculptures like the "birds" found there were probably objects of art serving religious purposes.

Paintings too, belonging to the upper paleolithic period were found in the village of Shishkino, on the River Lena, on the cliffs of a hill regarded as sacred by the local inhabitants as Buriats. They are representations of wild horses and bulls, made in a style resembling the paleolithic painting in Europe. To the same international Eurasian paleolithic "school" belong some of the representations on rocks discovered by the members of the Termez Museum expedition in the Zarastai Gorge, Uzbekistan, not far from the Afghan border. Among their other finds were hunting scenes executed in red and brown ochre. They belong to the Middle Stone or Mesolithic Age, and some, perhaps to the Bronze Age.

Pictures on rocks are found throughout Siberia, Kazakhstan and Turkestan; they are particularly numerous in the region of Altai, around the upper reaches of the rivers Yenisei and Irtish.[4]

A very important center of culture of the anaeolithic[5] type was discovered in the oasis Anau, near Ashkhabad (in Turkmenian Soviet Republic, near Iranian border), by the expedition of A. Pumpelly[6] in 1903. The finds of this expedition made it possible to establish a close relationship of Anau with the culture of Sialk in the northern Iranian up-lands. Ghirshman dates the foundation of the northern mound at Sialk to the second half of the fifth

43. Rock-pictures from Tul-Kuneh in Northern Siberia.
From: S. Tchernikov, "Naskalniye Izobrajenia Verhovii Irtisha."
Sovietskaya Archeologuiya, IX, 1947.

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millennium B.C., and the southern mound to the second quarter of the fourth millennium B.C. The same chronology obviously should be used for Anau.[7] Representatives of the oldest civilizations of Anau and Sialk both, were at the same stage of culture; passing from the hunter stage and becoming agriculturist husbandmen; they had the same conditions of life, the same funerary rites, and made the same ceramic and the same metal implements.[8]

J. Ulrich Duerst, the anthropologist who studied in detail the numerous human remains in Anau, states that "representatives of the two oldest cultures (at Anau) differ absolutely from the Mongolian type; closely resemble the Mediterranean type."[9] The fact that they used lapis lazuli, nearest source of which is the K'un lun mountain range in Tibet, indicates that they maintained relations with the farther east.

From time immemorial, the steppes of Eurasia served as the great passage connecting the east with the west—a roadway for the spread of culture; but also a "road for barbarism,"[10] over-run from time to time by half-savage nomads.

An empire located in the steppes, from fourth to third millennium B.C. according to archeological data, apparently spread throughout the greater part of Europe, and all of Central Asia, where it had several centers. A. M. Tallgren[11] locates the oldest on upper Yenisei, in the region of Minusinsk in Siberia and the center of the later stage on the Altai mountains.[12]

Of this ancient "great empire of the steppes," we know as yet comparatively little, not enough to warrant final conclusions. Yet apparently it is here in this vast Empire that the ancient "animal art" arose. In historic times when Scythians[13] appeared in Europe (about 750–700 B.C.), so-called "Scythian animal art" flourished throughout the steppes of Eurasia, from the Dnieper and Volga, to the Amur and Yellow River.

The animal art of the peoples of the steppes—Scythians, Sarmatians, Huns,[14] and so on, has so much in common that one may refer to it as "the art of the steppes." In general "animal art" seems to have developed under the artistic and cultural influences of Mesopotamia, "that breeding place of the monsters," and Iran,

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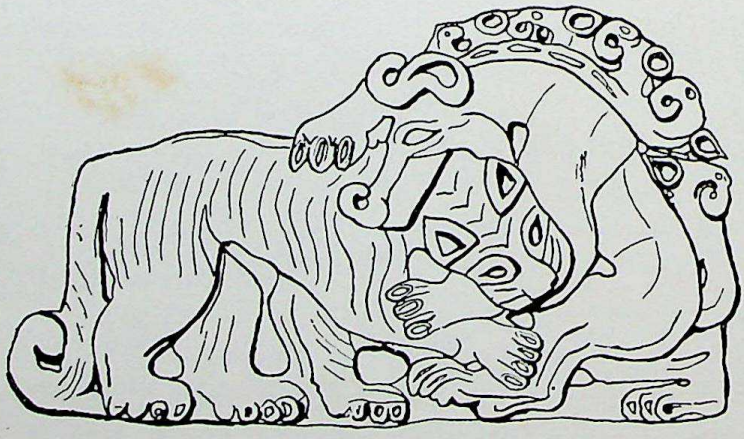
and received its polish from Greece. In the far east the proximity of China produced a variation of this art, as the art of the Ordos tribe, called "Sino-Siberian"[15] by A. Salmony. Nevertheless, the steppe art of the nomads shows an initial individual character which differs from that of its cultural mentors:

> Nothing is more contrary to the classical animal art of the Assyrians and Achaemenids, on one hand, and the Han, on the other hand, than the entanglements, the interlacings, and the contortions of the art of the steppes. The Assyrians and the Achaemenids, like China of the Hans, show us fleeing animals, pursuing and menacing one another in surroundings which are simple and airy. The artists of the steppes, Scythians and Huns, depict melees, often as tangled as the underbrush of lianas, of animals interlocked unto death. . . . There is no outgoing movement, no flight whatever. Stranglings patient and methodical in which the victim seems to drag its attacker to death. By way of compensation, an inner dynamism, despite the "Static" would have attained a great tragic force, had the stylization . . . not deprived the interlocked forms of all realism.[16]

These "entanglements" in the art of the steppes are particularly emphasized in the epoch of the Sarmatians. This art has fewer Hellenistic motifs than the preceding period of the Scythians proper, is more stylized, and ever more purely decorative. The



44. Gold Object from Western Siberia, from the Treasure of Peter the Great in Hermitage, Leningrad.
From: "Art des Steppes," by René Grousset, (Design by Jacques Hornung). Payot, Paris, 1939.

State Museum,
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silver and gold medallions in the "Treasure of Peter the Great" at the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, are examples of this style.[17]

The culture which existed in the Altai mountains in the second half of the first century B.C., is rather well known, thanks to the research of numerous Russian expeditions. The excavations of the Pazirik mounds, at the upper reaches of the river Ob, yielded particularly rich material. The excavations were begun by M. Griaznov of the Russian State Museum in 1929 and continue with some interruption to the present day.

The 1929 finds of the excavations of the Pazirik mounds, belong to the third or fourth centuries B.C.[18] and corroborate the account by Herodotus of a Scythian burial. Ten horses were sacrificed in order to serve the buried chieftain in the beyond. The horses were often provided with "deer" masks made of leather, felt, fur and gold leaf.[19]

Quantities of embroidered and ornamented harnesses, as well as separate pieces of decoration for the harnesses, carved wooden pendants, silver and gold medallions, were also found. Objects of everyday use and clothing were included. A chieftain was accompanied to the beyond by his wives, attendants and servants, as well as by the objects of his everyday use.

An extremely rare discovery was made during the 1948 excavation of a tomb belonging to the fifth or fourth century B.C.[20]—namely, tattooings on the body of a tribal chieftain who fell in battle and was buried in accordance with Scythian rites. Most of these tattoo marks are well preserved. The animal motifs which they form are typical of the interlaced "art of the steppes."

In addition to the Pazirik group, other groups of mounds were examined in Altai, including those at Oiratin, Karakol, Chibe, Katanda, belonging on the whole to the first century B.C.

Kozlov also assigns to the same era the mounds on the Noin-Oula range in the environs of Urga (in Mongolia) which he examined in 1924-25.[21] The mound located in the gorge called Sutsukhte (Devotional), yielded excellently preserved woolen carpet with representations in appliqué of fantastic animals: a winged lynx clawing the back of an elk with branching antlers; a bull

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fighting a beast with a lion's body. On another carpet serpents, turtles, and salamanders are represented. The treatment of these and other animal motifs in the finds of the Noin-Oula mound show traces of Hellenistic influence;[22] also influence of Mesopotamian culture is evident in the representation of a "mountain sanctuary," (a tree between two mountains or rocks) and of the stylized head of a bull.

Judging by the skeletons found in the tombs, the people who raised the mounds were of Aryan and not of Mongolian, type. One "portrait" preserved on a piece of woolen fabric shows a long face with large and straight eyes, and a straight nose slightly upturned at the tip.

Many objects from the mounds of Noin-Oula, lacquers[23] and embroideries on silk, some with representations of a winged Chinese dragon, belong to Chinese culture.

The frescoes found in Russian Turkestan by the Khorezm (Kwarizm) expedition of S. Tolstov in 1945-47 in the ruins of Toprak-Kale, showed a considerable impact of the Gandhara School. The Toprak-Kale, situated half way up the river Amu-Daria (ancient Oxus River), had been the residence of the Khorezm shahs[24] from the first to the third centuries of our era. Despite the Hellenistic influences, in common with other localities, these frescoes are distinguished by a remarkable individuality which permits one to recognize the existence of an entirely independent Khorezm art school. This school most likely maintained a unique position in the Mediterranean Basin and Middle East of later antiquity. The images are characterized by convincing realism and precision of treatment by rendering relief with strokes and colored highlights. The representation of the "woman harpist" holding an "Assyrian" instrument in her hands, is particularly imaginative. The ornament has charm and many points in common with the "Sarmatian" art of the Kertch catacombs, in the Crimea on the Black Sea. A collection of statues of unbaked clay, representing a unique "portrait gallery" of the Khorezm shahs of the third century A.D. was also found at Toprak-Kale.[25]

Khorezm "the Land of the Peoples of the Sun," the "New

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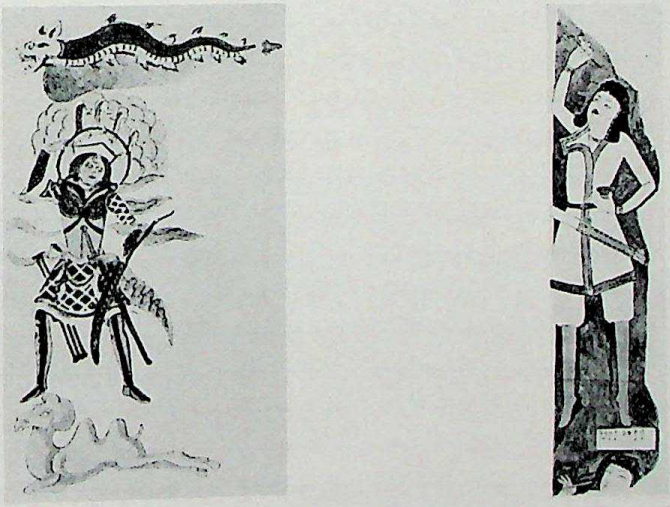
Aryana," is the legendary land in which the action of the Avesta unfolded.[26] The first altar on which the hero of Avesta, Yima-Djemshid, lighted the fire to the glory of Ahura Mazda—"the Wise Lord"—was erected on one of the mountains of Khorezm.

On the rocks approaching Sultan-Uiz-dagh, at the foot of which Toprak-Kale is situated, Tolstov found numerous areas covered with signs and pictures. Their types presenting a variety of geometric designs united in pictographic patterns, are related on the one hand with the signs depicted on the rocks of "the Stone Tomb" near the Sea of Asow (ascribed to the Bronze Age); and on the other hand, with the archaic hieroglyphics of India, Elam, Mesopotamia, and the Hittite kingdom.[27] The rocks on which the signs were found are believed by Tolstov to have been the site of an ancient burial cult which "later, in a modified form entered into the ritual of the religion of Zoroaster."[28]

The concepts of Zoroastrianism (Masdaism) spread along the same routes as Greco-Buddhist art with its monuments still being found in the sands of deserts and the oases on "silk road" from

45. Kyzil Caves Paintings (Details).



a. Nagaraja. b. Artist.

From: A. Grünwedel, "Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesischen Turkestan." G. Reimer, Berlin, 1912.

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Greece to China.[29] Buddhist missionaries went along this route both to Serindia[30] and China, carrying with them sacred images, painted and sculptured, executed usually in the Gandhara style.

Christianity, chiefly in its Nestorian forms, began to seep rather early into the interior of Asia. With it came Byzantine art forms. But particularly strong was the influence of the Manicheans with their rich painting tradition.[31]

There developed in Turkestan an interesting and complex "internationalizing" school of art. Examples of its work have been preserved largely in the cave temples of Turkestan investigated by many modern archeologists and travelers, among them Grunwedel, von Le Coq, Kozlov, Pelliot, Aurel Stein. Thanks to their labors, we have a rich source material acquainting us with this phase of the art of Central Asia. The early examples with strong Hellenistic tendencies, belong to the third and fourth centuries of our era. To the third century belong the discoveries of Aurel Stein at Miran, an oasis in south-eastern Turkestan, in the region of lake Lop-Nor. They consist of frescoes in the Gandhara style, representing the previous incarnations of Buddha, the Jatakas. From the earliest concepts underlying their Buddhist themes, not infrequently the image of the "Great Goddess" of the ancients emerges. She is Anagita of the Scythians and sister of the Greek Aphrodite. Among her attributes are the doves, the Sacred Tree of Life, winged figures of angels or Erotes. The frescoes are signed "Tita" (probably Titus), in Indian script, and represent an example of the early Central Asiatic style which Grunwedel calls "Indian." About the fourth century A.D., through the medium of Afghanistan which became the center of the "Sassano-Buddhist"[32] civilization and school of art, Sassanian Persia gained predominant influence over the art of Central Asia. It flourished from the fourth and fifth centuries until the eighth century in the basin of the river Tarim and its tributaries, Karakash and Yarkand. Important cultural centers came into existence in the oases of Kutcha, Karatchar, Yarkand and Khotan. To the fifth and sixth centuries[33] belong the early frescoes of the grottoes of Kyzil, in the region of Kutcha. In treatment of form and color scheme, the influence of

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India is pronounced in these frescoes. Later frescoes of the "Second Kyzil style," which M. Hakin attributes to 650–750 A.D., show the dominance of Persian influence. Chiaroscuro disappears, the color scheme changes, the quiet, subtle colors grow brighter.

The frescoes of the cave temples of Kyzil, this Ajanta of Turkestan, are exceptional—artistic, historical, and ethnographic—material. The destinies of nations crossed in Central Asia and their ideologies were mirrored in art. We see here: horsemen in mail, armed with lances, wearing caps of sarmatian type; Nagarajas with fan-shaped halos consisting of several serpents' heads; Sassanian knights and princes; saints of many countries and creeds, in the guise of Bodhisattvas and Buddhas; cubic altars of the Zoroastrians supporting fire leaping into tongues of flame; "Buddha's footsteps"; a cross with a rose or lotus in its center; a dynamic swastika; the ancient symbolic Tree of Life and the "Sanctuary in the Mountains." All these live together on the walls of Kyzil caves, and conjure up this complex civilization they reflect. Many of the Kyzil frescoes are painted one over the other, indicating the continuous utilization of the caves.

In "the cave of the artist,"[34] of the early sixth century as indicated by an inscription on the wall, there is a representation of the artist himself. Working on his painting he holds a brush in one hand and a pot of paint in the other. Judging by his costume, he belonged to the Tokharian race.[35]

Farther east the Buddhist eclectic frescoes of Turfan, Murtouq, Basaklik and Sangi, (eighth to tenth centuries) show the impact of the artistic traditions of neighboring China, mingled with traditions of Indo-Iranian art. The influence of the latter art is also obvious in the fifth to eleventh century frescoes of the Buddhist temples of the "Thousand Buddhas" in Tun-Huang at the western border of the Chinese Empire. Buddhist religious art continued to live in China even after the growth of Islam had ended the further development of Buddhist art in Central Asia.

Tibet, "The Snowland," became another haven of Buddhist art and remains so to this day. Tradition and legend link the appearance of Buddhism in Tibet with the name of King Sron Tsan

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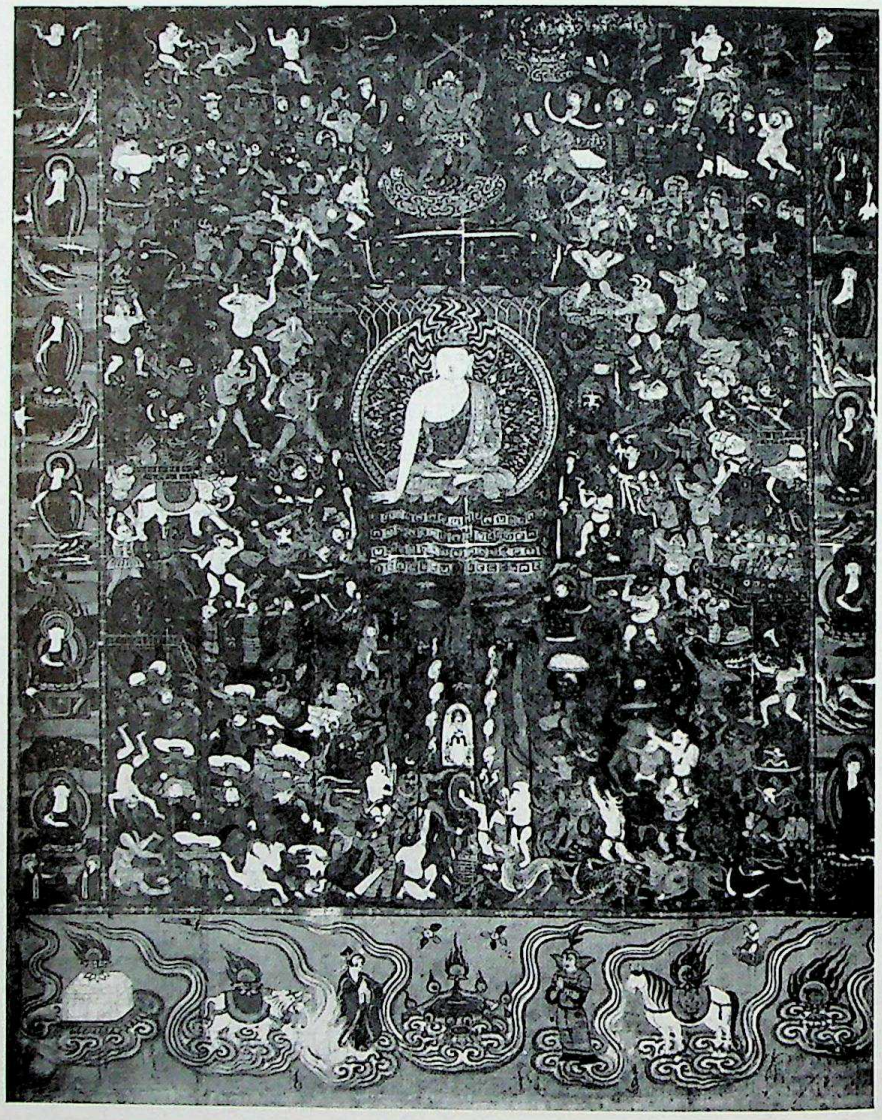

46. The Assault of Mara.
Painting from Tun-Huang Caves, Central Asia.
Courtesy of Musée Guimet, Paris.

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Gampo, two of whose wives (a Chinese and a Hindu), were Buddhists. Supposedly, it was their influence which brought about the King's conversion to Buddhism about 642 A.D. Legend states also that these two princesses later began to be worshipped as incarnations of the goddess Tara—"the White Tara" and "the Green Tara." This story is typical of the two cultural trends, Indian and Chinese which existed side by side in Tibet and in Tibetan religious art.

Tibetan "Tantrism,"[36] is Buddhism based on the doctrine of Mahayana, ("the Great Vehicle"), with an admixture of Shivaism, permeated with local magical cults.[37] These cults soon obscured Buddha's pure teachings, and indigenous demons again dominated the religious beliefs of Tibet. In the year 747 A.D., King Thi-Sron-Detsan summoned the *Guru* (teacher) Padma-Sambhava from India in order to "drive out the demons and restore the purity of Buddhism." Guru Padma-Sambhava, who was called the Master Magician of Tibet, defeated the demons and transformed them into servitors and defenders of Tibet. He became the founder of Lamaism[38] and its priestly hierarchy is still maintained in Tibetan monasteries.

The struggle in Buddhist religion between pure spirituality and demon worship had been going on in Tibet[39] since the advent of Buddhism. This struggle left its imprint on all forms of Tibetan art. On the one hand the enlightened Spirituality found an expressive mode of representation in the Gandhara style which many Tibetan artists adopted. On the other hand the demonic leanings of the people produced a fantastic repertoire of grotesque animal faces, and the gruesome dance of the many-armed and many-legged Shiva upon a crouching human figure.

Painting occupies a place of honor in Tibetan monasteries in which a considerable part of Tibet's population lives and the production of works of art for religious purposes is an important occupation.

> Making an image of a god, or copying a holy text is a meritorious deed. This explains the diligence of artists, who have painted the likeness of the same divinity a thousand times.[40]

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Painting here is conservative, according to strict rules, traditions, and designs. Tibetan artists, like the Chinese, show a predilection for painting narrative religious subjects *jatakas,* and incidents from the life of Guru Tsong-ka-pa and his struggle with demons. They also depict the true and legendary lives of the saint Milaraspa, and other Tibetan saints. Occasionally, these pictures are painted directly on walls or wooden panels, but usually they they are painted on cloth. The pictures on cloth are called *tankas.* Tibetan *tankas* have not been studied widely as they are considered sacred objects inseparable from the monasteries and are jealously guarded by the lamas. In the monasteries there are also many illustrated sacred books. The designing of *mandalas,* magic diagrams, forms a special branch of art.

In some Tibetan temples ritualistic dances are executed by masked lamas. Among the masks, a position of high importance is assigned to the deer mask. The figure of a masked lama decorated with the branching antlers of a deer resembles the ritualistic disguise of the Siberian shaman and are reminiscent of the paleolithic European cave[41] drawings. A lama's garments are embroidered with fantastic animal motifs, among them, the griffin and the Chinese *T'ao-T'ieh,* a "tiger" or "horror" mask.

Tibetan Buddhist painting had a great influence on the Buddhist painting of Mongolia and Manchuria. In Manchuria, Buddhism came in contact with Taoism which had spread from China, probably about 221 A.D. and had brought with it the traditions of Chinese art. Taoism, "The Noble System" ascribed to Lao-tse, the Chinese philosopher, expressed itself in a cosmological scheme of remote antiquity.[42] In Manchuria Taoism came into contact with other religious forces which had their own specific symbols and forms of visualization, chiefly those of the Sun and Fire cults.

The Tibetan School of Buddhist painting was influential in the "Grassland" of Mongolia during the heyday of the Tangut state, Si-Hia,[43] in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the ruins of the ancient city of Kara-Khoto,[44] which was an important commercial center of Si-Hia, Kozlov's expedition discovered many Buddhist paintings executed on canvas, silk cloth, or paper. Most of the

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47. Vaiçravana, God of Riches. Embroidered Temple Banner. From: "The Chinese Lama Temple Potala of Yehol." Catalogue of Exhibition of Collections made by Gësta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's Expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix. New York World's Fair, 1939.

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total finds were attributed by Kozlov to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of our era.[46] They were preserved, thanks to the extreme dryness of the climate. Kozlov recounts the impression made upon him and his companions by two Buddhist icons of Chinese manufacture:

> From Buddhist sacred objects something vital, expressive, whole emanates. For a long time, we were unable to tear ourselves away from contemplating them, so inimitably fine were they. . . . But if a canvas was lifted, most of the paint immediately flaked off, all its charm vanishing, like an ethereal spirit; and of its former beauty only a faint memory remained.[47]

S. M. Kochetova deals with paintings in "Chinese style," while S. F. Oldenburg deals with another group in Khara-Khoto which he calls, "Tibetan."[48] The paintings of Tibetan work, according to Oldenburg, "differ sharply from the paintings of Chinese work and offer incontrovertible proof of that basic, decisive influence which Indian painting exercised upon the ancient Tibetan and, with it, upon the Tangut, assuming that in the Kingdom of Si-Hia there did exist an independent school of painting."

Kochetova divides the paintings of Chinese work into two groups. The first is devoted to the cult of Buddha Amitaba, the "Buddha of Boundless Light," greeting a soul in paradise. The second group consists of paintings representing the divinities of planets, pertaining to a "foreign astronomical cult." She writes of "the great value of monuments with the cult of luminaries, from Khara-Khoto, which made it possible to unravel complicated cultural influences of countries of the East and the West. The paintings of Khara-Khoto for the first time shed light on the problem of Manichean influences in Central Asia." The studies of Pelliot in connection with the Manichean texts has also been of great importance in clarifying the problem.

Manicheism was for a long time the state religion of the Uigur Empire.[50] Its ruler Teng-li (759–780) was converted to Manicheism by a missionary who apparently came from Sogdiana. An inscription near the city of Kara-balgasun on the river Orkhon,

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capital of the Uigur Empire,[51] refers to the King as "Emanation of Mani."

In the middle of the ninth century, the Turfan oasis, and the oases in the basin of the river Tarim became new and important centers of Uigur culture. Here too, as previously in Orkhon river basin, Manichean painting flourished, as we know from numerous Manichean miniatures and frescoes discovered in Chotsho (Turfan), Yarkhoto and other sites explored by Sir Aurel Stein and von Le Coq.[52] But after a short time, it was supplanted by Buddhist painting, which suggests the rapid spread of Buddhism among the Uigurs. With the advent of Islam and the conversion of Chinese Turkestan between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, rigoristic attitude towards images prevailed and representation of "living things" ceased.

In Turfan German expeditions found many Christian illuminated manuscripts brought probably by Nestorian missionaries. Christian missionaries penetrated into the interior of Siberia and far east. But the conversion to Christianity of the nomadic or semi-nomadic aboriginal population of Siberia remains superficial even to the present time. Shamanism is still widespread throughout the area, and the Shamans (priests or "medicine men") enjoy great prestige. Shamanism is a cult of the moon, the sun, and the spirits of nature in the guise of animals and birds. It exists among some tribes side by side with a monotheistic concept of the Supreme Deity, the Great Spirit. We find this the case with Udekhe, a nomadic tribe dwelling on the approaches of the upper Amur near the Pacific region. It is one of the mysterious tribes of the earth and its origin is unknown.[53]

This tribe belongs to the "Americanoroids," and it has much in common with the North American Indians in physical type, customs, religion, and art. Their art is motivated by a strong component of magic and their chief artists and sculptors have been Shamans. It was supposed that a Shaman is assisted by spirits who inspire him in his ritual performances. The Shaman carves representations of these spirits in the form of beasts, birds and some-

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times, of human beings. Their chief animal motifs are the leopard and eagle. These representations (often attached to the belt) are called *sevokhi*. They bear a close resemblance to the carved figures often suspended on the belts of the Shamans of North-American Indians. The Siberian and American Shamans also use the carved wooden poles as ritual objects, and they wear aprons, amulets, and masks. They carry a carved magic staff which has a wooden lance at one end, and at the other end, a representation of a human head, with the wings of an eagle or an owl attached to it.

Among the other tribes of north-eastern Siberia, the Ude-khe are distinctive for their dislike of the sea, and their fear of the "Great Water." Their neighboring tribe, Orochi, with whom they are often confused do not claim the Ude-khe as their kinsmen and contemptuously call them "strangers"—*Kiaka* and *Kiakari*.[54] The legends of Ude-khe state that the Supreme Being, Bo-Enduli, "exchanged people": He sent some to the north on a piece of ice which broke off from the shore, others arrived in boats from some place unknown.

It seems clear that the Ude-khe were not the aborigines of the north, as their legends and fairy-tales mention neither the nordic reindeer, the aurora borealis, nor the expanses of snow and ice of local Siberian experience. They did not come by sea, for they are afraid of the sea and have no knowledge of sails and seaworthy craft. Whence then did they come? "Before us lies one of the riddles of ethnography," answers the scientist.[55]

At present Siberia is being modernized and its nomadic population is turning to a settled manner of life. Their way of life and their customs are undergoing great changes. Stallions, their ritual animals are no longer sacrificed. With the appearance of schools and universities in these formerly remote regions, the power of Shamanism is waning and "magic" art is being transformed into secular popular art. The *sevokhi* of the Ude-khe tribe, the "women-birds" of the Nenets, the "golden women" of the tribes of the lower Ob,[56] are becoming subjects for toys and other com-

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mercial articles.[57] This popular art nonetheless still reflects the far-away past and can be a rich field for the study of the vital and artistic traditions of the complex native population of Siberia.

47a. Head of a Ram, Pole-top.
Ordos Bronze.
Probably, about 1st or 2nd Cent. A.D.
Collection George A. Rubissow.

NOTES

1 P. Ackerman, "Notes on Recent Russian Research," *Bulletin of the Iranian Institute,* December, 1946.

2 Paleolithic Age (Old Stone) is divided into "lower" (early) and "upper" (late) periods. Art makes its appearance in the upper paleolithic. The upper paleolithic in its turn is divided for Europe in following succeeding periods (the names of periods given after the places of finds in France): Aurignacian, Solutrean, Magdalenian. In the finds of Malta in Asia, the characteristics of Aurignacian and Solutrean art appear simultaneously, and Gerassimoff uses the name "Aurignacian-Solutrean" for this period (about 90,000 or 60,000 to about 20,000 or 10,000) of Paleolithic Age.

A popular account by R. J. Braidwood on *Prehistoric Man,* 1948, is published by the Chicago Natural History Museum.

3 M. Gerassimoff, Malta, *Paleoliticheskaya Stoyanka.* Excavations 1928-29.

4 S. S. Chernikoff, "Naskalnyia Izobrazheniya Verkhoviy Irtysha," in *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya,* IX. Also V. Riznichenko, *Zrazki Pervishnoho Mistcstva Na Leji Pustel Gobi.* See also A. P. Okladnikov, "Drevneishie Naskalniye Izobrazheniya Severnoy Azii" in Sovetskaya Arkheologiya, XI, 1949, p. 161 & f. Okladnikov compares the horse images to the Altamira caves (Spain) paintings.

5 Copper and Bronze Age.

6 A. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan.* 1905.

7 The dating of Anau as given by Pumpelli, ninth millennium or earlier, for the Northern Kurgan, was based on a method of calculation which was proven to be unsatisfactory.

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[8] R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk, pres de Kashan,* en 1933, 1934, 1937. French excavations directed by R. Ghirshman.

[9] J. Ulrich Duerst, *Animal Remains from the Excavations at Anau.*

[10] R. Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes.*

[11] A. M. Tallgren, *Inner Asiatic and Siberian Rock Pictures.* Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua, 8, 1933.

[12] P. Pelliot, *Haute Asie.*

[13] Scythians—"Skuthoi" of the Greeks, "Ashkuzai" of the Assyrians, "Saka" of the Persians and Hindus. According to Greek historians they had come from Turkestan.

[14] The Scythians, Sarmatians and other tribes coming from Turkestan and western Siberia dwelt in the western part of the steppes, while the eastern part was occupied by tribes of Turco-Mongolian origin. Of the latter, the most important was the tribe which the Chinese called Hsiung-nu (apparently, the Latin name "Hunni" and the Hindu "Huna" refer to the same people).

[15] A. Salmony, "Sino-Siberian Art in the collection of C. T. Loo." Paris, 1933.

[16] René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes.* Payot, Paris, 1939.

[17] These objects were gathered by the government of Peter I of Russia "from tombs between Ural and Altai" in Siberia, about 1726.

[18] Grousset and Hackin attribute them to the second or first century B.C.

[19] Sheets of white gold are found in large quantities in the Altai excavations. Gold is abundant in the Altai mountains. *Altai, Altyn*—mean "gold." The Turks called *Altai, Altoun-Dagh*—Gold Mountain.

[20] See, S. I. Rudenko, "Drevneishaya Skifskaya Tatuirovka," *Sovetskaya Etnografiya,* III, 1949.

[21] The Kozlov expedition discovered a total of 212 mounds of which ten were examined.

[22] Hellenistic influences in Asia came from the Cimmerian Bosphorus, as well as from the "Greek State" of Bactria. The latter, existing as an independent country from 250 to 135 B.C., was comprised of the lands conquered by Alexander the Great from Amu-Daria to the Hindu Kush. Later during the first to third centuries A.D., the Hellenistic influences came from the Indo-Scythian Empire of Kushana Kings, where the Greco-Buddhist art of the Gandhara School flourished.

[23] One of these Chinese lacquers dated 2nd cent. A.D., places these objects in the 2nd century A.D.

[24] The Kings of Khorezm (Khiva), once a powerful kingdom which comprised the lands in the basin of Amu-Darya (Oxus). It was known also as Chorasmia, Khwarizm, Urgenj. Now, under the name of Uzbek Republic, it is a part of the Soviet Union.

[25] S. Tolstov, *Po Sledam Drevney Khorezmiyskoy Tsivilizatsii,* 1948.

[26] Avesta, Sacred scriptures of the religion of Zoroaster (Zarathustra), Mazdaism.

[27] Tolstov, *K Voprosu o Proiskhozhdenii Proto-Khorezmiyskoy Pismennosti.* (*Drevnii Khorezm,* pp. 71-76, Moskwa, 1948.)

[28] *Idem.* On the religion of Zoroaster, Mazdaism, see the chapter on Persia in present work.

[29] R. Grousset, *De la Grèce à La Chine.* Les documents d'Art. Monaco, 1948.

[30] "That other India" of Buddhism—the Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang).

[31] Manicheism, religion founded by Mani (born 215 A.D.), is based on elements taken from Mazdaism, Christianity and Islam. See the chapter on Persian Art in the present work.

[32] Zoroastrianism was the prevailing religion of Persia under the Sassanid dynasty (226-652 A.D.). But in the outermost reaches of the Empire, Afghanistan and Turkestan, the population was largely Buddhist, and there developed the mixed Sassano-Buddhist ("Indo-Iranian" in Grunwedel's terminology) civilization. Cf. Chapter on Persia in this present work.

[33] After Hakin; German scholars give the date about 600-650.

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[34] See A. Grunwedel, *Altbudistische Kulstatten in Chinesiseh Turkestan.* G. Reimer, Berlin, 1912.

[35] The Tokharians were apparently descendant from the "Scythian" tribe, Yueh-chih, which had emigrated from Outer China in the second century B.C.

[36] "Tantrism," derived from "Tantra," books of a secret teaching, which are supposed to possess magic qualities.

[37] The basic religion of Tibet was Bon-po—worship of the forces of nature under the guise of demons.

[38] "Lama" was originaliy a title of honor, but later came to be applied to all priests and monks.

[39] By the eleventh century, the worship of demons again threatened to extinguish the light of Buddhism, and Atiça, the monk began to call for a return to the purity of Buddhism. From his teaching and the later reforms of his successor, Guru Tsong-ka-pa (1355-1417), arose the sect of "Yellow Monks," so called, to distinguish it from the "Red Monks" of Tantrist Buddhism.

[40] Dr. Gosta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple in Chicago.* 1932.

[41] For instance, "The Masked Shaman" in the cave of *Trois Frères* in Ariège, France.

[42] Tao, the Great Unit, is located in the Celestial Pole. Its movement and tranquility engender the active principle, Yang, and the passive principle, Yin, respectively (the Two Primary Modes), the transformation and the union of which determine all things. (Chou Lien-hsi, 1017-1073.)

[43] The state of Si-Hia (which in Chinese means "the western kingdom") was founded in the eleventh century by the Tibetan tribe of Tanguts. Its capital was the city of Sin-yin, later renamed, Ning-hia.

[44] Kara-Khoto (which in Mongolian means "the Black City")—the Yi-tsi-nai—of the Tanguts and the Ezina of Marco Polo—is located at the lower reaches of the river Edzin-gol. Kozlov discovered the ruins of Kara-Khoto during his expedition of 1908-1909. He visited it again in 1926. Aurel Stein also conducted excavation in Kara-Khoto in 1914.

[46] The bulk of the finds come from the *suburgan* called the "Famous." *Suburgan* is a burial monument of a special type.

[47] P. Kozlov, *Mongolia i Ambo, i Mertvyi Gorod Kara-Khoto.* Ogiz, Moskwa, 1948.

[48] S. M. Kochetova, Buddistskiie ikonographicheskiie pamiatniki is Kara-Khoto kitaiskago stilia, Moskwa, 1946. S. F. Oldenburg, Materiali po buddistskoi ikonopisi Kara-Khoto, 1914.

[50] The empire of Uigur Turks in Mongolia, 744-840.

[51] Cf. Chapter on Persian Art in present work.

[52] Von Le Coq, *Chotsho. Aurel Stein, Ruins of Desert Cathay.*

[53] Arseniev, "Etnologicheskiye Problemy Na Vostoke Sibiri," *Vestnik Asii,* Harbin, 1916.

[54] To themselves Orochi refer as "Binaani" or local people.

[55] Arseniev, "Etnologicheskiye Problemy no vostoke Sibiri," *Vestnik Asii,* 1916.

[56] "The cult of a feminine deity in the north, around the river Ob, manifested itself in the worship of 'the Golden Woman' or 'the Golden Goddess,' 'the Mother Goddess' to adore whom the Ostiaks, Voguls and Samoyeds foregathered as far back as the seventeenth century. . . . In the belief of the Mansi and the Khants, the matriarch, 'Mos Kaltash,' provided a child with its soul, supervised the birth of children. From the song requesting Kaltash to come, we learn that she had the guise of a bird, more exactly, the guise of a goose." V. N. Chernetsov, "Fratrialnoie Ustroistvo Obsko-Yugorskavo Obschestva," *Sovetskaya Etnografia,* II, 1939.

[57] A. N. Reinson-Pravdin, "Igra i Igrushki Narodov Obskavo Severa," *Sovetskaya Etnografia,* III, 1949.

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THE ANCIENT CULTURES OF MESOPOTAMIA

Sumer, Akkad and Assur

48. Cylinder Seal Impression.
Style of 3rd Dynasty of Babylon. 18–16 Century B.C.
Courtesy of Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

Biblical tradition places man's first homeland, Paradise, in Mesopotamia:

> And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden. . . . And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. . . . And the fourth river is Euphrates.[1]

This ancient land, saturated with legend and history, the crossroad of nations, witnessed the progress, disintegration, and collapse of many great cultures. Each developed from a unique nucleus of its own and contributed something original to the cultural complex. Their paths crossed, and there was a mutual exchange and interplay of cultures and influences.

Geographically, Mesopotamia can be divided approximately into two parts: the southern alluvial plain from the Persian Gulf to Bagdad or Samarra,[2] and the northern part, the land of higher altitude, accentuated by hills and mountains. The earliest archaeo-

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logical finds belonging to the late Neolithic[3] and Chalcolithic[4] periods were made in the part of Mesopotamia north of Bagdad—at Tepe Gawra, Nineveh, Tell Arpachiya, Tell Hassuna, Jarmo, and other places. They consist of flints and tools, and pottery—first coarse and plain, later painted and decorated. Approaching directly the threshold of recorded history, we come to the great Sumero-Akkadian culture in the Mesopotamian lowlands. The first phase of this culture is associated with Sumer,[5] the section comprising the lower part of the two great rivers; the second phase is called Akkadian, after its center, Akkad,[6] in the northern part of the Mesopotamian plains.

It is assumed that the Sumerians appeared in lower Mesopotamia about the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. and that they were the civilizers of the aboriginal population. Very little is known about the latter, neither to what race they belonged, nor what language they spoke. Their culture is named after the sites where archaeological finds have been made.[7] However their implements indicate that they were engaged in agriculture before the Sumerian advent. They also manufactured pottery, painted in reddish brown and black, decorated with geometric designs among which occasionally appear strongly schematized representations of animals. To these proto-Sumerian artists belong also terracotta statuettes of animals and human beings. They include figurines of a bird-headed woman, sometimes holding a child at her bosom. The figurines apparently were fertility cult objects.

With the advent of the Sumerians is connected an extraordinary cultural development in the Mesopotamia lowlands. The origin of the Sumerians, as that of the predecessors, is not known.[8] Some scholars believe that the Sumerian place of worship—their temple, the *Ziggurat*,[9] a graded pyramid with the sanctuary at its top, reached by a monumental stairway—indicates that they had come from a mountainous region and were accustomed to worship in high places.[10] The cities of Ur, Eridu, Lagash, Larsa, each had its sacred *Ziggurat*, "the world mountain."

Sumerian culture, whose resemblance to the culture of the Indus valley we have already noted, attained a very high level.

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As early as 3000 B.C., it possessed a uniform script, as well as a highly developed art, as revealed by the many excavations on the sites of its ancient cities, Ur, Eridu, Warka (Uruk) and others in lower Mesopotamia.[11]

In 1922, a joint expedition of the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania, headed by Sir Leonard Woolley, conducted excavations at al Mughair. This proved to be the site of ancient Ur, "the City of the Flood." Traces of a flood—which swept through the lands of Sumer and Akkad about 3000 B.C.—are strongly evident at Ur. . . . "Under the rubbish there lies banked against the hillside a bed of clean waterlaid clay eight feet thick and more, the deposit of a great flood."[12]

The colored ceramics found in the deepest antediluvian stratum, at the Ur excavation, differ in character from everything else found, and later disappear altogether. But the statuettes of "the Aegean type," (probably objects of a religious cult) of a nude female with a bird's head, wearing a black wig or head dress, and holding a child in her arms were also discovered in the stratum immediately above the flood deposit.

The tombs of Sumerian kings, "The Great Cemetery," at al Mughair belong to the post-deluvian strata, the third millennium B.C. The rite of burying the deified king was accompanied by human sacrifice,[13] as we may judge from the contents of one of the outer rooms of the tomb. Seventy-four people, men and women, followed the deceased king in death, in order to attend and serve him in the beyond: the king's wives with their attendants, wearing their finest jewels, warriors in full armor, and musicians with their instruments. The jewels, the weapons, musical instruments, and the quantity and variety of objects of everyday use, found in the royal tombs of Ur, are of finest craftsmanship. The favorite materials used were gold and lapis lazuli. Three broken lyres decorated with inlaid panels of mythological themes are good examples of Sumerian symbolic religious art. A lion-faced eagle clasping two stags, a lion-faced bird seated on the back of a human-faced bull, a goat standing erect against the Tree of Life, are a few of the motifs which are repeated on the panels of

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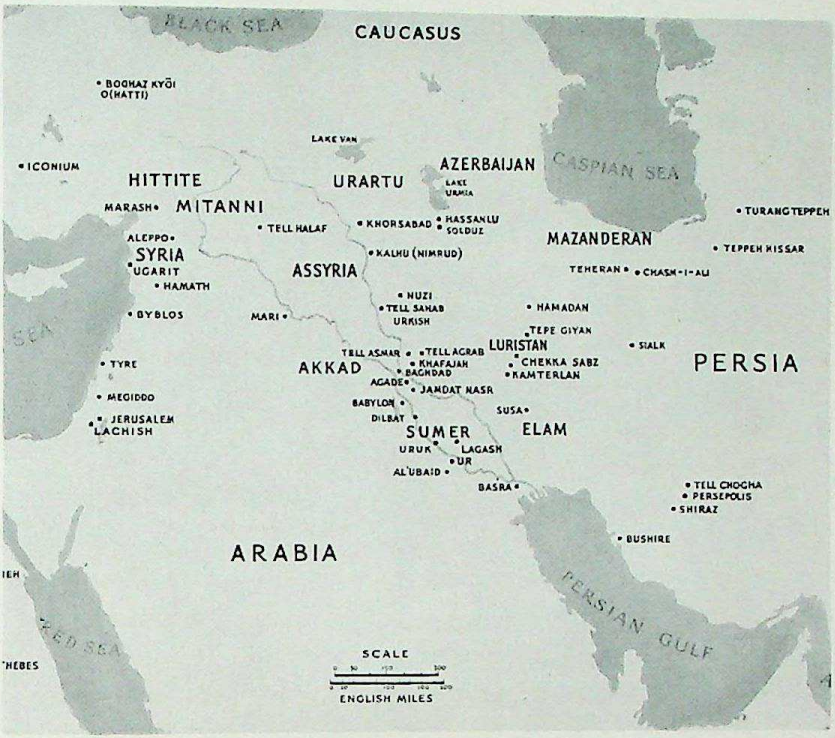
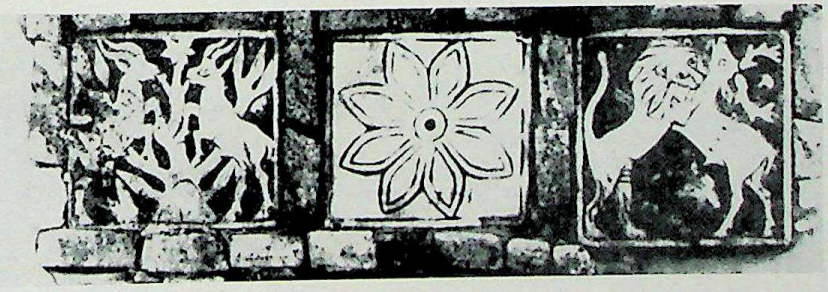


48a. Ancient Near East.
Map including the principal places of excavations which provided data for the new chronology of the Near East.
Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



49. Part of Inlaid Gaming Board, Shell and Lapis-Lazuli.
From: "Ur Excavations" by Sir Leonard Woolley, v. II. 1934. Courtesy of the British Museum and the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

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the lyres and on the triangular ends of the so-called "standard" of Ur.[14] The mosaic panels of the "standard" represent scenes of military and court life—"war and peace" of the Sumerian Ur of about 2500 B.C.[15]

Engraved cylindrical seal-stones are the most fruitful sources for the study of Mesopotamian art and culture. They appear in Mesopotamia in the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods (about 3700–3000 B.C.) and last into the Achaemenid epoch of Persia until about 600 B.C. Perhaps in the beginning the impression of cylindrical seals marked some great official event or were exclusively owned by men of great importance, but gradually, the use of cylinder seals extended to larger circles and became increasingly popular, engaging large numbers of artists. Often one person owned several cylinder seals. In the words of E. Porada, "the seal-cutters were the real pioneers, and many of the subjects which they introduced and the styles with which they experimented, were taken over by artists in other fields."[16] Many traditional and symbolic motifs of Sumerian cylinder seals resemble those on the cylinder seals found in Mohenjo-Daro in the Indus Valley.

The second historical period in ancient Mesopotamia, Akkadian,[17] is marked by the rise of Semitic power. It begins with the overthrow of Lugalzaggisi, the last king of the early Sumerian dynasty, by Sargon of Akkad (about 2500 B.C.), founder of a Semitic dynasty. The apogee of Akkadian supremacy[18] in the Mesopotamian lowlands was reached in the so-called Babylonian period,[19] in the reign of the famous king and law-giver, Hammurabi (c. 1728–1676 B.C.). Babylon, his capital, was famous in the ancient world, and the land governed by Hammurabi in the plain of Shinas was called Babylonia.

Mari, a rival neighboring city on the Euphrates, was defeated by Hammurabi during the reign of its last king, Zimrilim. The royal palace built towards the end of the third millennium B.C., which housed Zimrilim and generations of his ancestors, was destroyed. During the excavations[20] of Mari wall paintings were found in this palace.[21] These compositions, executed in brilliant colors, show the blending of two tendencies which were predomi-

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nant at that time: realism in the representations of animals and humans—such as "the bull led to the sacrifice"; and the hieratic symbolic forms, reminiscent of Egyptian art—such as two large panels, a picture of "Sacrifice of Water and Fire," and the coronation of the King by the Goddess Ishtar.

50. Paintings from Zimrilim's Palace.

a. Bull Conducted to the Sacrifice.

Mari was one of the ancient centers of the cult of the Goddess Inanna (Ishtar).[22] Several statues representing this Goddess were found during the excavations of her temple in Mari. One statue represents the Goddess holding a vase in her hands; she wears a high helmet-like head-piece decorated with two horns. The partially damaged face shows a definite resemblance to the representations made by the Aegeans. Characteristics of a variety of other objects found in Mari indicate the same western analogies.

Paintings were found during the excavations in several other

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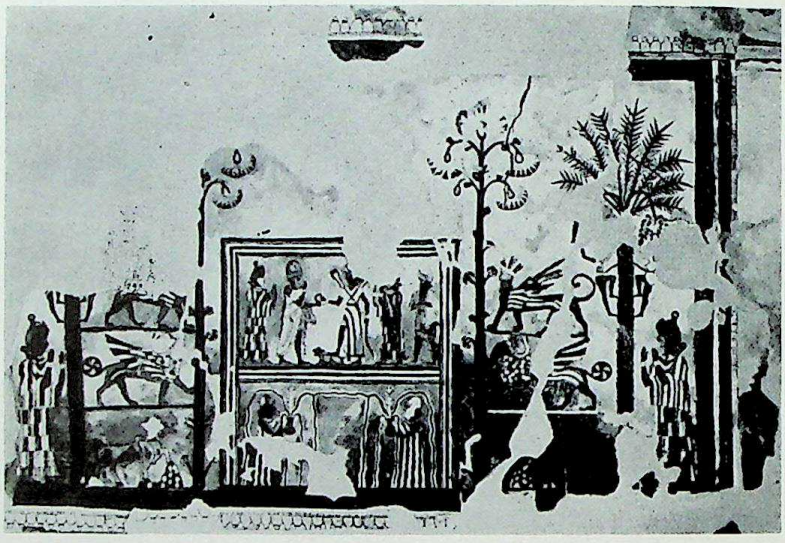
sites of Akkad, at Til Barsib, Khorsabad, Nuzi, Dur Kurigalzu, Tell Uquair. On the frescoes of the temple at Tell Uquair,[23] two leopards, one of them seated, guard the altar. The two animals are outlined against a white background. First, they were outlined in red; after, the corrections were made by thick black lines. Other

50. Paintings from Zimrilim's Palace.



b. The King of Mari Receives from Ishtar the Attributes of Royal Power.
From: Syria, Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archeologie, Tome XVIII, Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1937.

frescoes represent the seated figure of a king or divinity, and a passing herd of horned cattle. The skill and ease of the execution of the painters, and their extraordinary "modern" approach to nature are astonishing. The "painted temple" where the frescoes were found was built about 3000 B.C., according to the Department of Antiquities of Iraq, which conducted the excavations in 1940, 1941 and 1942. The excavators ascribe the Temple frescoes to the Uruk period. The Tell Uquair wall paintings are the most ancient so far discovered in Mesopotamia.[24]

Towards the end of the second millennium, the power of Babylon began to weaken under the pressure of neighboring rival tribes

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51. Winged Being Worshipping. From the Palace of Ashur-nasir-apal *II* (885–860 B.C.) King of Assyria, at Kalhu (Modern Nimrod). Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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from the north, the north-west and north-east. About 1750 B.C., the Hittites[25] captured Babylon. About 1550 B.C., the Kassites[26] founded a dynasty which remained in power until 1169 B.C.

About the year 1000 B.C., Assur (Assyria) in the northwestern part of Mesopotamia subjugated Babylon and became the dominant power. The Assyrians, a warlike people, consisted of Semitic tribes who had mingled with non-Semitic populations. Their rule extended even over Egypt in the first quarter of the seventh century B.C. In contrast with Sumer and Southern Akkad, Assur had a plentiful supply of building stone and in their architecture and sculpture, stone was used as much as brick.

In architecture, perhaps, the Assyrians developed some new forms, but on the whole, even in architecture they carried on the traditions of Babylonian art. The bas-relief attained an exceptionally high level of development and was the main embellishment of the monumental royal palaces, gates, columns, etc. In addition to the mythological and symbolic representations bequeathed by the Sumero-Akkadians, there was a marked increase in the number of bas-reliefs representing royal ceremonies, military exploits and hunting scenes (the three chief subjects of their repertoire).

In 689 B.C., Babylon was destroyed by Sennacherib, but it was lavishly restored by Nabopolazzar and his son, Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562 B.C.), the kings of the new dynasty of the so-called Chaldean[27] Empire (625–539 B.C.). This is the Babylon of the Bible. Its King Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem in 586 B.C. and carried the Hebrews into captivity "by the waters of Babylon."

Excavations in 1899 by a German mission headed by R. Koldewey, revealed the remains of the great city, its towered walls, and the splendor of its temples and palaces. In one of the architectural remains, R. Koldewey recognized the famous "Hanging Gardens of Babylon," one of the Seven Wonders of the World.[28] The "Tower of Babel," a ziggurat of seven stories (*E-temen-an-ki*—"the house of the foundation of the sky and the earth") was located in the temple precinct of god Marduk, along the west side of the Great Procession Street.[29] The ziggurat was an inheritance

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from early Sumer. The walls of Procession Street were built with fired tiles decorated with lions. The façade of Ishtar Gate was also adorned with alternate rows of bulls and dragons. The animal figures are dynamic and their energetic movement forward is very expressively executed. The animals are made in relief on glazed tiles painted in white and brick red against the predominantly blue background. The craft of tile making had reached a pinnacle in Babylonia, and it was passed on to Assyria.

Babylonia had little stone, but an abundance of clay, which was the material generally used by craftsmen and artists. For coloring, the durable natural mineral pigments were usually employed, although occasionally vegetable pigments were also used. The chief colors were blue (turquoise and all the shades of lapis lazuli) and yellow; dark red, black and white also appear. The combinations produce a "modernistic" poster-like effect, which is emphasized by the technique of drawing in heavy black outline, a method used by modern commercial artists, but seldom so effectively.

The outstanding character of Assyro-Babylonian art is its extraordinary sense of proportion, the harmonious interrelation of large plane surfaces and detailed features of figures and objects. The characteristic components of the individual figure, the folds of garments, curly hair, fine details of feathers, wrinkles of face, lines of the palm, are of great importance in the decorative effect. Incidental decorative elements and ornaments as mere space fillers are very few.

Assyro-Babylonian art is monumental in concept and ritualistic and symbolic in purpose. It aims to glorify the king and his gods. However, the artists of Assyro-Babylonia were keen observers of nature. This is borne out by their vivid representations of animals, often realistic, and their accurate knowledge of anatomy. But representations of the nude body frequently encountered in early Sumerian art seldom occur in the art of Assyro-Babylonia. The human body, with the powerful curves of strained muscles, clad in heavy garments was a symbol of the royal might of the "super-

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man," the deified king. He was provided with wings and placed in conventional, ritualistic poses.

The most characteristic figure of Assyro-Babylonian art is the composite creature with the head of a man, the body of a bull or a lion, and the wings of an eagle.

The Chaldean kingdom flared into a brilliant but short-lived revival of the might of ancient Babylonia. In 539 B.C., the city was captured by Cyrus, King of Persia.

NOTES

[1] Genesis 2:8-10-14.

[2] According to J. Finegan, about 20,000 years ago the Persian Gulf reached as far north inland as Samarra. The silt carried down from the mountains by the Tigris and Euphrates formed new plains and the coast line receded southward. About 3000 B.C. the coast had receded further south to Lagash. J. Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past*, 1946.

[3] R. J. Braidwood dates the settlement at Jarmo, discovered in 1946, near Kirkuk, between 5000-6000 B.C. (late neolithic). For early pottery finds account, see E. A. Speiser's articles in *Asia*, 1938, and in Smithsonian Inst. Report for 1939-1940.

[4] The Chalcolithic epoch (Copper and Bronze, c. 4500-3000) in Mesopotamia is divided, on the basis of "ceramic chronology," into the following periods (counting the layers downward, from the top to the bottom):

Jemdet Nasr, period immediately preceding the early dynastic period—about 3000-3200
Uruk about 3200-3700
Al'Ubaid about 3700-4000
Halaf-Samarra, late fifth to early sixth millennia.

The names are after the places of the archeological finds (see map, p. 133). However, the chronology of the Near East at present is in the period of full reconsideration and reconstruction in connection with recent archaeological discoveries. Efforts to establish an "absolute chronology" have not met as yet with success, and chronological data, used by different scholars, are far from being coordinated. See W. F. Albright, "A Revolution in the Chronology of Western Asia," *Bulletin of American School of Oriental Research*, No. 69, 1938; E. A. Speiser, "The Beginning of Civilization in Mesopotamia," Supplement to the *Journal of the American Society*, March 1939; W. F. Albright, "A Third Revision of the Early Chronology of Western Asia," *Bulletin of American School of Oriental Research*, No. 88, 1942; R. Ghirshman, "Absolute Chronology," *Acta Archeologica*, No. 6; C. F. A. Schaffer, Stratigraphie Composé et Chronologie de l'Asie Orientale, Oxford, 1948.

[5] Named after the predominant ethnic group which spoke the Sumerian language.

[6] "The earliest representatives of the Semitic family of people are known in Mesopotamia as Akkadians. Later on, they came to be distinguished in the south as the Babylonians, in the northwest as the Assyrians, and in the west as the Amorites." E. A. Speiser, "Ancient Mesopotamia: A Light that did not Fail," *National Geographic Magazine*, January, 1951.

[7] "The people of the painted pottery in the al-Ubaid Period." Leon Legrain, "The Babylonian Collections of the University Museum," University of Pennsylvania, 1950.

[8] So far only "negative definitions" try to explain the origin of Sumerians. "The

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Sumerians are not Semites, but not a single piece of evidence allows us to include them into Indo-European group." It is unknown whence they had come. "We do not know and we conjecture India, Iran and the lands adjoining the Caspian Sea." The Sumerian language is not related to any other language known to us. "Its users were apparently a people apart, in an ethnic no less than a linguistic sense; they were also highly distinctive in culture." A. Parrot, "La Civilization Sumérienne," *Revue de Paris,* Novembre, 1935.

[9] The temples of ancient Mexico bear an astonishingly close resemblance to the Ziggurat.

[10] The same conclusion may be drawn from the appellation of the Sumerian divinity Enlil "The King of the Mountainous Land."

[11] However, excavations on the sites of Akkad cities—Kish, for instance—show the same culture in the deep strata.

[12] C. L. Woolley, "Ur, the City of the Flood," *Wonders of the Past.* New York, 1941.

[13] However, "Quite possibly the word 'sacrifice' is in this connection misleading. I have pointed out that there seems to have been no violence done to the men and women who crowd the death-pit, but that they drank quietly of the drug provided and lay down to sleep. To me it appears more likely . . . that the members of the king's court who went down with music into his grave did so more or less voluntarily." C. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations,* II, p. 42.

[14] A triangular box which probably was carried on a pole possibly used as a standard. "What it really was, it is hard to say . . . the suggestion that it was a sort of standard seemed the most reasonable." Woolley, *Ur Excavations,* II, Oxford, 1934.

[15] At Tel Kariu, the site of Mari, the ancient capital on the middle Euphrates of the Semitic land of Amurru, a broken panel of mother of pearl with scene of the counting of war prisoners was found. It has a curious resemblance to the "standard" of Ur.

[16] Edith Porada, Mesopotamian Art in Cylinder-seals, 1947.

[17] Called Akkadian after Akkad (Sumerian Agade), the city located somewhat to the north of Babylon between Tigris and Euphrates. The name Akkad was later applied also to the country.

[18] The supremacy of Akkadian kings in Mesopotamia was interrupted by a period of domination by Caucasian people, Gudians (c. 2180-2070 B.C.), and by a Sumerian renaissance under King Gudea of Lagash (new-Sumerian period) c. 2070-1960 B.C.

[19] Old Babylonian period, c. 1830-1550 B.C. (see Finegan, p. 45).

[20] Excavations were conducted from 1933-1939 by a French expedition to Mari. Paintings were found during the third campaign in 1936.

[21] A. Parrot, "Les peintures du Palais de Mari," in *Syria,* Tome XVIII, 1937.

[22] Another great center was El-Obeid, in the close vicinity of Ur, where a vast temple was excavated.

[23] Tell Uquair, about 40 miles south of Bagdad. For the account of excavations, see article in *Illustrated London News,* June 27, 1942.

[24] Parrot, *Archéologie Mésopotamienne,* 1946.

[25] See the following chapter on Hittites.

[26] Kassites, tribes of a non-Semitic origin, who came from the north-west.

[27] "Chaldean"—this word of many senses here probably means "of southern origin," because southern Mesopotamia was often referred to as Chaldea.

[28] R. Koldewey and F. Weitzel, "Die Königsburgen von Babylon," *Wissenschaftliche Veroffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft,* 1931-1932, pp. 54-55. R. Koldewey, *Das Wiederstehende Babylon,* 1925. J. Jordon, *Guide Through the Ruins of Babylon and Borsippa,* Bagdad, 1937.

[29] Named after the great procession which passed by this avenue every year during New Year's celebration.

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THE HITTITES

During the first and second millennia B.C., Asia Minor, part of what is now Turkey, was the seat of the Hittite Empire, another great power of ancient times, competing with Babylon and Egypt.

Recent linguistic and archaeological studies appear to agree in establishing an Indo-European origin for the Hittites. Their cuneiform script was deciphered by Professor F. Hrozny of Prague and by other experts.[1] The main chronological outlines of their dynasties have also been established. Nonetheless, for us their history still contains many gaps and riddles. Their predecessors—the 'proto-Hittites'—the producers of ceramics attributed to the middle of the third millennium B.C., or early Bronze age, found in the deep layers of Alaca Huyuk, Alishar, and other Anatolian sites —have not yet been clearly defined.[2] Towards the end of the third millennium B.C., these Anatolian people were joined by newcomers, probably Indo-Iranian people with a higher culture.[3]

52. Ancient Hittite (from a Bas-Relief of a Temple of Thebes, Egypt).
From: James Henry Breasted "The Conquest of Civilization," 1938, page 206. Harper & Bros., New York.

Hittite tribes appeared in Asia Minor and in the northern part of Mesopotamia c. 2000 B.C., about the same time as the Hurrians (Mitannians) whom they resembled in facial characteristics—receding forehead and chin, and prominent nose.[4] In culture and

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art, the Hittites and the Hurrians probably borrowed a great deal from the people of the Kingdom of Subartu, in the basin of Khabùr river (a branch of the Euphrates) in Mesopotamia.

The site of the Hittites' oldest capital, Kushshar, has not yet been located. King Mursilis I (Ci. 1660 B.C.) transferred the capital of the Hittite Empire from Kushshar to Khattusas (the Greek Pteria). The site of Khattusas is the modern village called Bogazkoy, in the basin of the Halys River. Hittite archives, consisting of several thousand inscribed clay tablets and seals were found in the excavations of Bogazkoy.[5]

The history of the Hittite Empire is usually divided into two periods: the Early Kingdom (about 1950–1550 B.C.); and the New Kingdom (about 1550–1200 B.C.). Tombs of Hittite princes, apparently of Hittite pre-dynastic times,[6] of about 2000 B.C., or earlier, were found at Alaca Hoyuk, near Husseynabad. There is every indication that Alaca Hoyuk marks the site of an important city, probably a political and religious center.

The excavations at Alaca Hoyuk were conducted by the Turk Tarih Kurumu, Historical Society of Turkey. They yielded brilliantly rich material. Among the finds, particularly interesting are the bronze objects in the tombs, called "solar discs" and "standards" by Turkish scholars. These objects, probably of ritual or ceremonial use, are adorned by sculptured animal representations, usually a deer with wide branching antlers, wearing a silver mask, and flanked by two other masked animals. The discs, as well as other objects excavated at Alaca Hoyuk, are of fine workmanship. "In the Anatolian art of the third millennium, that of Alaca Hoyuk is so outstanding that everything known heretofore, including Troy, must rank as its inferior."[7]

Monumental sphinxes sculptured in stone flanked the ancient entrance gateway to the palace complex. The gate walls were decorated with sculptured orthostats (uprights). They bordered a passageway leading toward the palace chambers and shrines. This arrangement was one of the most characteristic features of the Hittite architecture. Although stylized, the reliefs of the men and animals on the orthostats show a close observation of nature.

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53. Warrior King. Bas-relief from Bogazkoy.
From: Otto Puchstein "Bogazkoy, Die Bauwerke," Plate 19.

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The same can be said of the great relief of a warrior-king on a gateway at Bogazkoy; the king is represented in Egyptian manner with head and legs in profile, and frontal shoulders, but the structure of the body, and the form of the muscles, are very well observed and show a knowledge of anatomy; the silhouette is powerful and harmonious.

In the environs of Bogazkoy, in the same region as Alaca Hoyuk, there is an open-air shrine dedicated to the Hittite Mother Goddess, Ma. The central figures of the bas-reliefs carved along the rocky walls are assumed to represent the wedding of Ma, Goddess of the Earth, and Teshup, God of the Sky and Sun. The God stands on the shoulders of two priests; the Goddess, on the back of a lion in profile; the outspread wings of a bird uphold two of her women attendants. The entire composition is one of concentrated power, of "rhythmic vitality," as the first Chinese canon of art would define it.

At Karkemiš, modern Jerablus,[8] on the Euphrates, there are bas-reliefs representing the homecoming of victorious Hittite armies protected by Hittite divinities. The warriors are rendered with a great deal of realism. By contrast, realism can scarcely be detected in the figure of a "cubic divinity" who had presided in the acropolis of Karkemiš. This figure now is destroyed and only the pedestal is intact. But photographs taken by excavators remain. They show a monumental statue which consists of a giant stone cube surmounted by another cubic semblance of a torso. Above it is a bearded head of a human being crowned with a horned tiara. Its two heavy hands, the right holding an ax-hammer, and the left a mace, rest on a cube representing the knees. Its heavy feet stand on a pedestal flanked by two lions. The lions are joined together by a kneeling human figure with an eagle's head.

An even more "abstract" stone statue of a Goddess was discovered by Max von Oppenheim during his excavations at Tell-Halaf.[9] Here the first cube is the pedestal showing the Goddess's feet. The second cube, higher up, forms her knees on which her hands rest at right angle to the torso; the right hand holds a chalice. The third cube forms the shoulder surmounted by her head.

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54. Statue of Hittite Divinity.
From: L. Woolley, "Carchemish of the Hittites." Photographs reproduced by the courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum, London.

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The Goddess is long-nosed and smiles like a sphinx. The hair, in two twists, falls on her breasts. The conception of the whole image is schematic, although the skillfully executed head is somewhat more realistic. Another female statue, smaller in size, apparently of a later period, was also conceived in accordance with "cubist" principles; its head however is rendered entirely realistically and probably was a portrait. Thus the abstract form would seem to be a consequence of tradition rather than of lack of artistic skill—a tradition which perhaps did not permit the alteration of the symbolic cubic form. However the stylized cubic form was not invoked for the depiction of the head, hands and feet in human semblance.[10]

The preoccupation with the fantastic and symbolic in Hittite art is shown by statues of composite creatures with the torso of a bird, the tail of a scorpion, and a bearded human head crowned with a horned tiara, which stood at the entrance to the palace-temple of Tell-Halaf. The three figures of the "Subaraean" Trinity,[11] at Tell-Halaf, stand on stone cubes mounted on the backs of animals—two lions and a bull—in the entrance porch of the palace.

There are various theories about the origin of this "abstract" art of Tell-Halaf and early Karkemiš.[12] Baron Max von Oppenheim considers them as the works of the earlier inhabitants, the people of Subarti, which were re-used by the later kings. He calls this art "Subaraean."[13] Sir Leonard Woolley accepts this theory; Parrot, the excavator of Mari, does not agree.

The art of the Hittites, like that of Babylon and Assyria, expresses itself through the presentation of large surface planes. Purely decorative ornamentation as a space filler has small importance here. The monuments show originality and enormous vitality. Although hieratic, Hittite art is much more human in feeling than the formal art of Babylon and Assyria.

The history of the Hittites as an independent great power ended about 1200 B.C., when their might was broken, presumably by the Phrygians, or other invaders not yet determined. But several of the Hittite city-states, chief among them, Karkemiš, Aleppo, and

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Sam'al (Zincirli), survived and preserved semi-independence for some time.

The art production of this "neo-Hittite" (late Hittite) epoch—about 1200 to 600 B.C.—reflects a variety of foreign influences—Egyptian, Phrygian, Phoenician, Assyrian, Medo-Persian. The recent finds of Karatepe[14] in Cilicia in Turkey have added new valuable material to the finds made at Zincirli, Sakça Gözü, Karkemiš and Tell-Halaf, of earlier excavations. The sculptures present a complex of interesting works which reveal many facets in a period replete with historical and cultural problems. They show much liveliness, resourcefulness, and often are stylistically original with an element of naivete.

In 717 B.C., following a revolt, Karkemiš was conquered by Sargon II and its lands were annexed to Assyria.

55. Bas-relief at Tell-Halaf.
Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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NOTES

[1] F. Hrozny, *Die Sprache der Hethiter,* 1917; *Hethitische Keilchrifttexte aus Bogaskoi,* Leipzig, 1919; *Code Hittite provenant de l'Asie Mineure,* Paris, 1922. J. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments,* Chicago, 1939. See also the works of Bittel and Guterbock.

The recent discovery (during the excavations made at Karatepe) of the king Asitavanda's bilingual inscriptions—repeated in paralleled Phoenician and Hittite hieroglyphic versions—is a very important contribution for the deciphering of the Hittite hieroglyphic texts.

See H. T. Bossert's article "A Bilingual Key to the Previously Undecipherable Hittite Hieroglyphic Inscriptions," *The Illustrated London News,* May 14, 1949. For general discussion and bibliography of Karatepe finds, M. J. Mellink, "More Light on the Dark Ages," *Biblioteca Orientalis,* No. 5, September 1950.

[2] H. Bossert, *Alt-Anatolian,* 1942.

[3] See E. F. Schmidt, *Anatolia Through the Ages.* (Discoveries at the Alishar Mound, 1922-1929.) Oriental Institute Communications, Chicago.

[4] However, these features may have been acquired by them through the admixture with the local Anatolian inhabitants who had preceded them.

[5] K. Bittel and R. Naumann, Bogazkoy, 1938.

[6] At that time, different Hittite tribes were not yet welded together to form the Empire under the supremacy of the central Hittite State, the people of which called themselves Khatti.

[7] Bossert, *Alt Anatolien.* 1942.

[8] Excavations by Hogarth and Woolley, for the British Museum. See C. Leonard Woolley, *Dead Towns and Living Men.*

[9] Max von Oppenheim, *Tell-Halaf, eine neue Kultur im altesten Mesopotamien,* Leipzig, 1931.

See also, Max von Oppenheim, *Tell-Halaf,* 1950. This book contains the result of many years of work of von Oppenheim at Tell-Halaf.

[10] It is interesting to note that we find the same artistic concept in the representation of Artemis at Ephesus (as we know it after the Roman copies), where the head, hands and feet are treated quite realistically, while the rest of the body is a pure symbolic abstract scheme.

[11] As M. von Oppenheim identifies them: Teshup, the supreme God of Heaven and Earth, god of rain—in the center, mounted on a bull; Shamash, the sun god, mounted on a lion, to the right of him; and to the left, the great goddess Hepet, corresponding to Babylonian Ishtar, mounted on a lioness.

[12] It is believed to be associated in a way with the Hyksos, the conglomeration of war-like peoples, who rose to power in the beginning of the eighteenth century B.C. Hittites and Hurrians entered into this conglomeration.

[13] Oppenheim, *Tell-Halaf, La plus Ancienne Capitale Soubaréenne de Mésopotamie,* 1933.

[14] See H. Cambel, "Karatepe," in *Oriens,* I, No. 2, 1948.

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THE AEGEANS

AEGEAN civilization was nurtured in the Mediterranean, the "Great Very Green Sea" of the Egyptians and the "Sea of the Setting Sun" of Assyrians. Its impact was strongly felt in the Asiatic countries bordering on the Aegean and Mediterranean shores, and in deeper Asia. The representatives of this civilization were the "people of the sea" of many names,[1] among them "islanders, called Leleges" identified by Herodotus, the Greek geographer, as "Carians." After Herodotus, these people were employed by Minos, the ruler of Crete, as seamen.[2]

The island of Crete apparently was the center of the early phase of Aegean culture,[3] whose sphere of influence was widespread through the Aegean Sea and Mediterranean Basin.

The excavations conducted by Sir Arthur Evans in Cnossus (1900–1908), opened a new chapter in Aegean history, and brought the legendary tales of King Minos, Perseus, Ariadne and the Minotaur into the realm of actual history. From the excavations emerged a vivid picture of the development of that brilliant civilization from about 3000 B.C. to 1200 B.C.

The "sea-faring people" who created this civilization, were highly artistic—endowed with an innate sense of beauty. We can judge the height which Minoan art in Crete had attained by the magnificent frescoes in the palace of Cnossus (among them the famous "cup-bearer," and the griffins in the Throne Room). Overflowing vitality, rich palette of colors, striking variety of motifs, and skillful rendering of movement, characterize this art. It is completely free of the dogmatism, into which the art of Egypt occasionally lapsed. Although there can be no doubt as to the affinity of Aegean art with that of Egypt,[4] it seems to indicate a common root rather than a direct inheritance.

Cretan pottery was famous both in Asia and in Egypt. The

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painting of Cretan ware is original and rich. As an ornamental motif, the curve—a running wave, the scroll, and a spiral—received preference.

56. Ceramics from Knossus, Crete.

a. Middle Minoan Period. b. Late Minoan.

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The architecture of the Minoan period we can judge by its palaces; there were no temples, the places of worship were caves, small shrines, or altars in forests or gardens.[5] Palaces built for terrestrial kings, like the palace of Cnossus, included shrines.

The art of the Aegeans attained full bloom in the third and second millennia B.C. In its final stages it coincides (as is usually assumed) with the appearance of iron, about 1100 B.C., and the "geometric style."[6] Although the Cretan (Minoan) phase is regarded as the first phase of Aegean art, the possibility is not excluded that it came from Asia. Cretan script—which has not yet been deciphered—resembles the so-called "Asianic" (Hittite, Car-

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ian, Pamphylian, Lycian) scripts. Examples of Aegean art of the late Minoan or Mycaenean periods were found in Asia Minor.

In 1870–1890, Heinrich Schliemann conducted his excavations at Hissarlik, the site of ancient Troy, in Asia Minor. He was impelled to undertake this work, which became the crowning achievement of his life, by his admiration for Homer, aroused while still a child, and his firm belief in the historical truth of the basic events in the Iliad. In 1884, when he published his book *Troja,* he dedicated it ". . . to all who love the Poetry of Homer, and to all who are searching for the light thrown on history by the Science of Archeology."

Schliemann uncovered several layers of settlements and towns. The layer he named "Troy II" ("the burnt city") he believed to be "Troy proper, the Ilios of Homeric legend." This proved to be an error, however, and the distinction of being "Homer's Troy" goes to "Troy VI," the Mycaenean city, according to the researches of Dörpfeld who continued Schliemann's work after the latter's death.[7]

Many objects among Schliemann's finds point to the cult of the Mother Goddess: owl-faced vases, terracotta "whorls" with incised ornaments, among which the swastika is prominent, and curious clay objects resembling a star or a flower, "perhaps idols," in Schliemann's words.

Among the objects found in the "burnt city," the statuette "Idol of Lead" is considered to represent Aphrodite. Her head is crowned with the horns of a goat, the lower part of the abdomen is adorned with an inverted triangle, inscribed with a swastika. A. H. Sayce points to the affinities between this image and the images of archaic Babylonian and Hittite art. Inscriptions of this second stratum contain Hittite hieroglyphics.

The material yielded by both Schliemann's and Dörpfeld's excavations was studied again during the expedition of the University of Cincinnati, 1932–1938, under the direction of Blegen.[8] New material was added which definitively established the dating[9] of the nine successive layers—"the nine Troys." They begin with Troy I of about 3200–2600 B.C., and end with "Hellenistic City"

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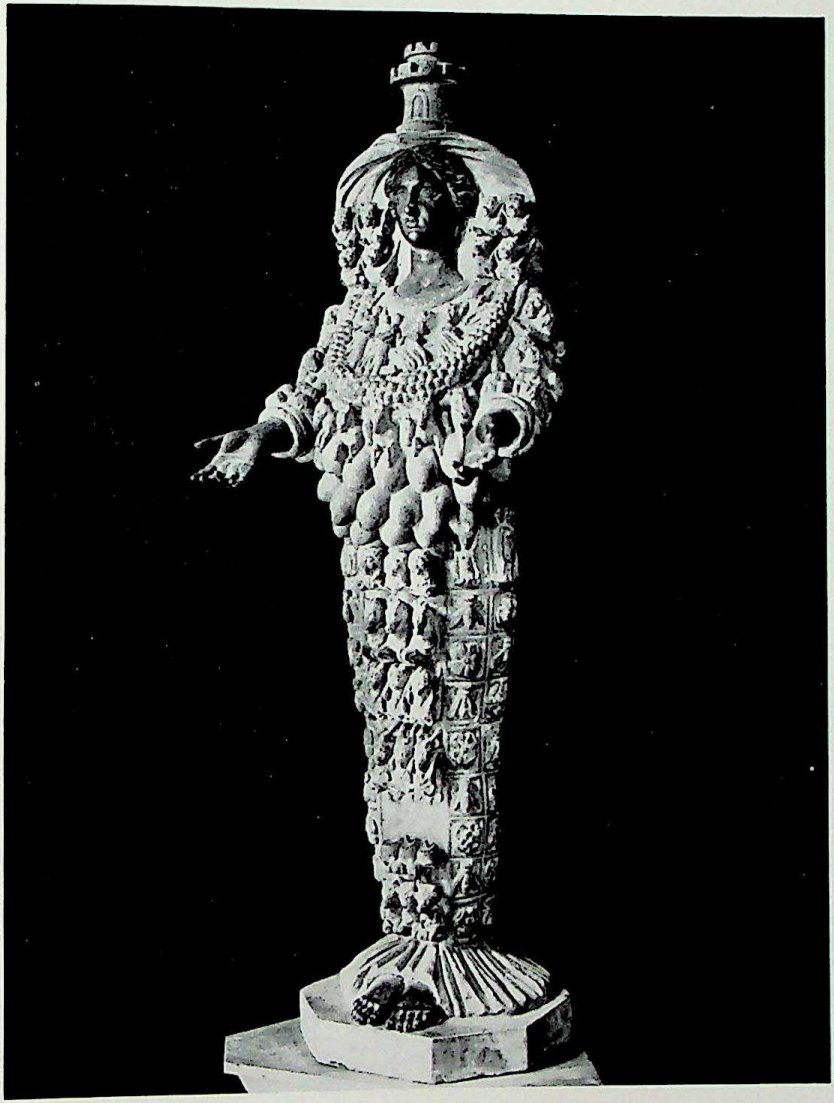

57. Diana of Ephesus.
Photo courtesy of Museo Nuovo dei Conservatori, Rome, Italy.

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Troy IX assigned to the period of the fourth century A.D. Other excavations conducted in countries on Asia's Aegean and Mediterranean shores have shown the importance of Aegean contacts in the culture of these countries.

In Asia Minor, let us note the work of J. T. Wood,[10] and D. Hogarth, in 1904–1905, at Ephesus—the city famous throughout the ancient world for its temple of Artemis (Diana of the Romans). Of this temple, which the Greeks counted among the Seven Wonders of the World, hardly a trace remains above the ground. Greek Ephesus, the city of the Amazons of Greek legend, is located about a mile from Ayassoluk, a modern Turkish town.

Excavations at the site of the Artemisian Temple bared the remnants of five successively erected temples. In the deepest strata were found objects of the early, pre-Greek (Aegean) period; among these were many of Egyptian origin, or related to Egypt. But the greatest part of the find belongs to the sixth century B.C. when the temple was newly rebuilt by King Croesus of Lydia (560–546 B.C.). "All nations deposit their riches in the temple," states one of the authors of antiquity. Precious objects of art flowed into the temple of the Ephesian Artemis from all parts of the ancient world.

In the center of the temple, perhaps at the very spot where "at the beginning" (if tradition is to be believed), a simple altar was erected in a grove, stood the statue of Artemis, Goddess of the Moon, the Mother Goddess. We can visualize this statue from the surviving descriptions by contemporaries, as well as from several statues which are believed to be copies of it. One of them is in the Museum at Naples. It resembles a column from the waist to the feet. It is decorated with the heads and figures of animals. The front of its torso is covered with a number of breast-like formations. The dark stern head is crowned with a fortress; lions are dozing on her shoulders and a rose appears in the ornament of her shroud.

Despite the completely naturalistic treatment of the head, hands and feet, the statue lacks human quality.[11] It is a composite figure—a Near-Eastern feminine counterpart of the Far-Eastern

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"Cosmic Dragon." Symbolically, it combines both aspects of the Mother Goddess, the mistress of Earth and of Heaven, and of the nether kingdom.

In this surrealistic figure of Ephesian art is found a visual expression of the combined symbols of the traditions of the Aegeans and of the many different races and nations with whom they came in contact.

NOTES

[1] Herodotus, I, 171.

[2] Identification of Aegean and Mediterranean tribes, and the theories about their origin, are still controversial. See W. F Albright, "Some Oriental Glosses on the Homeric Problem," *American Journal of Archeology*, July, 1950.

[3] For this reason, this period—approximately from 3500 or 3000 to 1400 B.C.—is called "Cretan" or "Minoan," the latter after the Cretan king, Minos (about 1500 B.C.), on the site of whose palace in Cnossus Sir Arthur Evans conducted his excavations.

[4] See J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, Boston (printed in London) 1877, or D. G. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus*. British Museum, 1908.

[5] The cult of the Mother Goddess, identified with both Aphrodites and Artemis of the Greek (Venus and Diana of the Roman), was one of the major cults of Aegeans. She was also Astarte of Phoenicia, Isthar of Assyria, Belit (Mylitta) of Babylon, Alalit of Arabia, etc. Again, and this is perhaps the oldest of all her names, she was the Goddess Ma of the Hittites, Goddess of Earth. This goddess of many faces and many names, the "Goddess Mother" of the ancients, possessed two major aspects: on one hand, she was the mistress of Heaven and to her were consecrated the dove and the swan; on the other hand, she was also mistress of the nether world, to whom the serpent was sacred and with whom the practice of dark magical cults was not infrequently connected.

[6] The style of Greek pottery of the period which followed directly the Mycenean period. It flourished from about 1100 B.C. to about 800 B.C.

[7] W. Dörpfeld, *Troja* (1892), and *Troja and Ilios* (1902).

[8] See Carl W. Blegen, *Excavations at Troy*, 1938, and 1950 (2 volumes).

[9] Blegen, *New Evidence for Dating the Settlement at Troy*, A.J.A., 1940. Giving the new dating, Blegen said: "It should of course be borne in mind that the dates suggested are for the most part only approximate and that the margin of error especially for the early period may be considerable."

[10] Wood, *op. cit.*

[11] Wood headed the expedition of the British Museum in 1869-1874.

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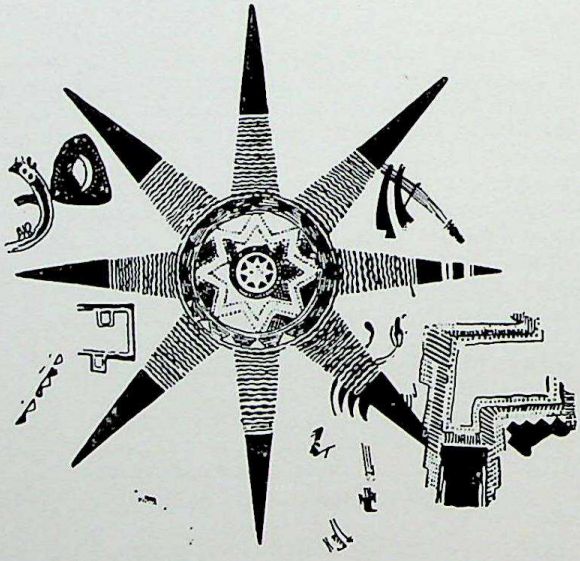
HEBREW ART OF PALESTINE

And Art of Israel (The Revival)

THE HISTORY of Hebrew Palestine with more or less precise chronology, begins with the kings, the chief basis for dating being the Bible. But it is preceded by a long uninterrupted pre-historic period,[1] since the Hebrew civilization of Palestine came after that of the Canaanites, and the pre-Canaanites.[2] Stone implements, flints and hand-axes of Paleolithic and Mesolithic epochs were found in Palestine in great number, especially in the North—as at Wadi el Mughara on Mount Carmel.



58. POLYCHROME FRESCO FROM GHASSUL.
From: W. F. Albright, "The Archaeology of Palestine."
1949. Pelican Books.

Among the finds in the caves of Wadi el Mughara[3] were plastic[4] statuettes, belonging apparently to the Mesolithic epoch. To this epoch probably belonged the rock-drawings of the animals (among

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which are the ibex and the ox) found in Trans-Jordan.[5] Other rock-drawings representing animals and hunting scenes, have been found on the walls of the caves at Gezer (near Ekron);[6] these caves, partly natural, partly man-made, were neolithic dwelling sites.

Pottery, first crude and unpainted, then with geometric decoration, makes its appearance in Neolithic times (at about 4500 B.C.). It is antedated by the sculptures made of plastic. Such sculptures, statues and statuettes of men, women and children, were found in early Neolithic pre-pottery strata at Jericho excavations. To the monuments of the Neolithic epoch belong apparently cromlechs, menhirs, dolmens and gilgals,[7] found in great number in Palestine and Trans-Jordan. Pottery of Chalcolithic and early Bronze age of Palestine is varied in form, with painted patterns.[8] At Teleirat Ghassul[9] fresco-paintings of the Chalcolithic epoch were found on the walls of mud-brick houses; they are polychrome, and comprise stylized and symbolical representations as well as naturalistic ones. A bird, very realistically drawn, is an example of the latter. For the former, is characteristic the eight-pointed star, surrounded by geometric figures and by stylized animal forms, called by Albright "stylized dragons." Albright relates the geometric forms of Ghassul to the patterns of earlier pottery of Tell-Halaf. "It is striking fact that the art of painting geometrical designs reached a higher pitch of achievement in the early fourth millennium in Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia than it did for thousands of years thereafter."[10]

Many pottery remains came down to us from the Palestinian Bronze Age, from the sites of Megiddo, Tell Beit Mirsim, Lachish, and other sites. One of the characteristic features of the Palestinian late Bronze Age are pottery plaques usually oval in form with impressions of a nude Goddess—so-called "Astarte plaques," and pottery figurines of the Goddess. These show a strong Egyptian influence. This is also true for most of the Canaanite metal works of the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Many other influences are perceived in Canaanite art of the pre-Israelite epoch. The tribes inhabiting Canaan, which "constitutes a 'bridge' connecting Meso-

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potamia and Egypt,"[11] came into contact also with Crete and Mycaenae, Asia Minor, and Arabia. Canaanite culture was probably international in the twentieth century B.C., when (as the Bible states) "Abraham the Hebrew" journeyed from "the Ur of the Chaldees" into Canaan.[12]

In the middle of the second millennium during a famine in Canaan, Hebrews migrated to Egypt. The Exodus from Egypt of the Hebrews—who by then represented a nation of considerable size—and their return to the land of Canaan occurred toward the end of the second millennium B.C.

While on the threshold of Canaan—which was not only "the land of milk and honey" but also bowed down to many "graven gods"—the Hebrews were cautioned to abide by the Second Divine Commandment:

> Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, or any likeness *of any thing* that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them nor serve them. . . .
>
> Second Commandment, Exodus, 20:4,5

The Hebrew priests brought as a bulwark of their faith, the Tent of the Meeting, the Candelabrum, and the Holy Ark. The Bible has preserved the names of the first two Hebrew artists, who were Bezalel of the tribe of Judah, and Aholiab of the tribe of Dan, "called" and ordained by God himself to construct and embellish these three sacred objects.

> The Lord has called by name Bezalel the son of Uri . . . filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship. . . . To devise curious work in gold, and in silver and in brass, and in cutting of stones He set him and in carving of wood, to make any manner of cunning work. And He has put in his heart that he may teach, both he and Aholiab. . . .
>
> Exodus, 35:35

This remarkable Biblical passage describing the "call" of the artists, shows with what deep meaning the art was then infused. Talent was regarded as divinely inspired "wisdom of the heart":

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Then wrought Bezalel and Aholiab and every *wise hearted* man, in whom the Lord put wisdom and understanding to know how to work.

Exodus, 36:1

Thus the artist was not far removed from the priest.

The Tent of Meeting was arranged with two rectangular rooms, an outer and an inner; the latter was cubic in form. This arrangement, probably, served later as basis for the plan of Solomon's temple. The Candelabrum of seven branches, which stood in the outer room was shaped like a tree and its symbolism was apparently connected with the Tree of Life. The Ark of the Covenant was kept in the inner room. It was concealed by a "veil of blue, purple and scarlet wool and fine twined linen of cunning work." The Ark was made of acacia wood overlaid with pure gold within and without. Its gold cover bore representations of two winged cherubs, facing each other.[13]

The Bible does not give us a description of the cherubic form, but it may be assumed that the "cherub" represented a composite figure of a symbolic animal. This assumption rests on the words of the Bible: "And He rode upon a cherub and did fly." (II Samuel,

59. A Cherub. Ivory of Samaria.
From: W. F. Albright "The Archaeology of Palestine," Plate 24.

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22:11 and Psalms, 18:10) Such composite figures of sacred animals are peculiar to all antiquity and served to represent the supernatural powers of the Deity. Hebrew art followed the common tradition of the Orient. Tablets depicting winged cherubs with heads of human beings, rams or birds, on the bodies of lions, were found in Syria and Palestine. The cherubs faced each other, flanking the symbolic Tree of Life, or a column (as do the lions of the Gate of Mycaenae). Most of these tablets belonged to the epoch when the Judges had already been replaced by Kings, and Palestine had become a mighty state playing an important role in the cultural life of its contemporary world.

The construction of the famous temple by King Solomon must be regarded as the apogee of ancient Hebrew civilization. That temple, which in the words of contemporaries "surpassed in beauty and wealth everything known theretofore," took seven years to build and was completed and consecrated in 959 B.C. The temple was the center of the cultural life of the Hebrew people and the history of Hebrew art is closely linked with it. It was built with great luxury. The Phoenician master, Hiram, "who possessed the ability, art and skill to make all kinds of things out of brass," was invited to work on the construction and decoration of "the Lord's House." He made in brass, two symbolic columns;[14] also a "molten sea," an immense vessel of bronze supported by twelve bronze oxen (every three facing one of the four directions of the world) and many other objects for temple use.

In his description of the temple, Ezekiel mentions various representations of cherubs on the walls:

> And it was made with cherubims and palm trees, so that a palm tree was between a cherub and a cherub; and every cherub had two faces; so that the face of a man was toward the palm tree on the one side, and the face of a young lion toward the palm tree on the other side.
>
> Ezekiel, 41:18,19

In spite of its luxury, the temple built by Solomon remained a strict embodiment of the symbolical, and the inner cubic room contained the Holy of Holies, the Ark of the Covenant.

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Solomon's Temple was leveled to the ground by Nebuchadnezzar[15] in 586 B.C. A part of the population was carried off into slavery, among them "the craftsmen and the smiths a thousand" (II Kings, 24:16). This thousand artisans whose skill was so inopportunely for them appreciated by the Babylonian king, continued their work in the cities of the "Chaldea" in which probably their early ancestors had resided. Undoubtedly, many of them settled there and remained until Babylonia was conquered by the Persians, and King Cyrus allowed the Hebrews to return home.

The Persians were tolerant of foreign religions on the condition that tributes were paid regularly. Cyrus returned to the Hebrews the riches which Babylon had taken from their temple[16] and even allocated funds for its restoration. The plan of the new temple was drawn by the Persian court architect.[17] Zerubbabel, Governor and High Priest of Judea, as Palestine began to be called when it became a Persian province[18] was charged with the supervision of the work of construction. The temple was completed, but the cubic room remained empty as the Ark of the Covenant was lost.

In 332 B.C., Palestine was conquered by Alexander the Great and Greek influence became supreme. It came directly from the Greek colonists and also from the two renowned centers of Greek culture: Alexandria in Egypt and Antioch in Syria. Both were prosperous mercantile cities where Hebrew merchants, goldsmiths and artisans flourished. The Hellenistic influence made itself felt in the architecture, in buildings such as the Palace of John Hyrcanus[19] in Trans-Jordan, and a funerary monument on Mount Hermil near Hims, both of the late Hellenistic period.[20]

In 63 B.C. Palestine became, and for many centuries remained, a semi-independent province of the Roman Empire. In 40 B.C., Anthony and Octavius appointed Herod—a Judean of the clan of the Maccabees as King of Judea. Known as Herod the Great, he rebuilt the temple on a considerably larger scale. It was based on the original plan of Solomon's temple, the scheme and tradition of which were preserved, but some of its parts as well as the buildings outside of the temple were Hellenized.[21] This was the temple which figures in the New Testament so significantly.

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The Herodian temple was destroyed at the time of Judea's revolt against Rome (66–70 A.D.). The treasures were carried off in triumph to Rome. This event is depicted on the relief on the triumphal arch of Titus in Rome.

The Temple was never restored.[22] The spiritual and commercial life of the Hebrews began to center around local synagogues after the dispersion. The synagogue at first came into existence as an adjunct of the temple.[23] It was a meeting place for the discussion of holy scriptures as well as of secular matters, municipal affairs, etc.[24] The exact time of the origin of the synagogue is not determined, but it might have been as early as the period of the Babylonian captivity.

In Mesopotamia under the rule of Seleucid dynasty (312–146 B.C.)[25] there came into existence a rich and complex international culture, of which an important part was the contribution of the Jewish colony. There, the Jews preserved and developed an art based on their religious traditions, though it was not free from the artistic influences of surrounding cultures.

Wonderful examples of this art were found, in 1920, in the sand-covered ruins of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates.[26] At first, Dura-Europos was a Greek colony, a local trading post on the caravan route. Babylonians, Jews, Parthians, Macedonians, Persians, Arabs, etc.—all passed through here. The population became international. This heterogeneity was reflected in the frescoes found in the course of the excavations conducted by a French mission, headed by Franz Cumont, in 1922–1923. The frescoes were located in the temple of Zeus-Baal (of the Palmyrean cult); in a synagogue; in a Christian chapel; in the house of the Parthian family, Cannon; and other houses. They belong to different epochs and different cults, evidence that during the transitional period of two eras, there was an organized activity in arts and crafts, hinting at the existence of guilds or associations of artists. Jewish masters occupied an important place, as can be seen from the frescoes of the synagogue. Some of the frescoes were painted about 245 A.D. (according to inscription), some others were of earlier date. Some represent episodes of Hebrew history; many of the compo-

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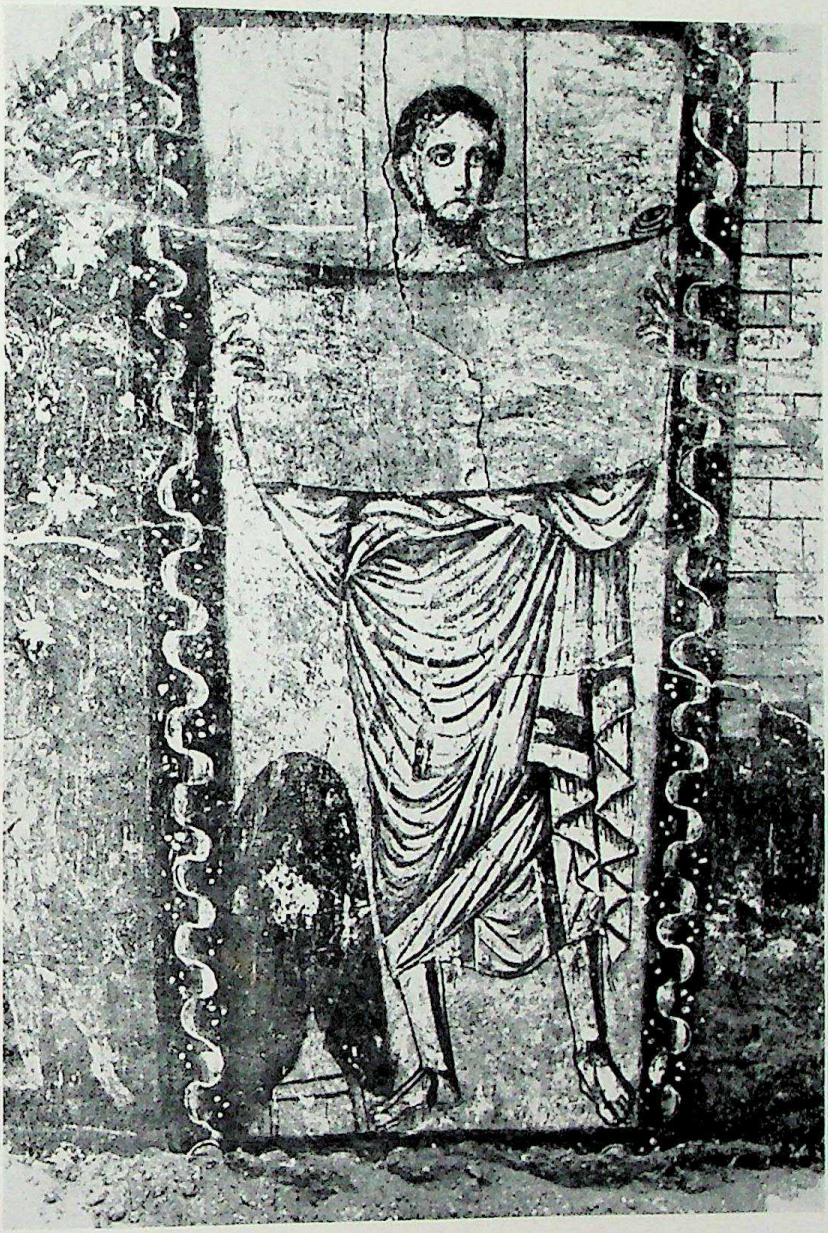

60. "Esdras." Dura Europos Painting.
From: "Les Peintures de Synagogue de Doura Europos, 245–256 A.D." by Comte Du Mesnil Du Buisson.

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sitions are based on themes of mystical content. The frescoes are painted on the walls of an oblong room in four horizontal rows running along the walls. The lowest row is of ornamental and animal design. The three upper rows represent episodes of the Scriptures: Abraham at the block for the sacrifice of Isaac; Jacob's dream; the story of Joseph; the story of Moses (the basket with the infant floating towards the shore; Moses and the burning bush); the crossing of the Red Sea; the passage to the Promised Land. . . . There are in all 300 panels preserved, which represent about a half of the original paintings. Scholars differ in their interpretations of some of the episodes. They also differ in their identification of the majestic, white-robed figures of the prophets. For example, the figure with the open scroll is called *Ezra* by Kraeling[27] and Du Mesnil,[28] *Jeremiah*, by Hopkins, *Moses*, by Sukenik, and *Samuel*, by Rachel Wischnitzer.[29]

One of the frescoes represents a temple reminiscent of the temple of the Sun in Baalbek, rather than the traditional temple of Solomon, probably the influence of the cult of Arabian Palmyra. Frescoes which depict the history of David and Ezekiel's vision (resurrection of the Dead) show traces of Greco-Roman art. David, wearing a cape and a Phrygian cap, charming animals by playing a harp, could well be Orpheus; in Ezekiel's vision the butterfly wings of the flying feminine figures are attributes of the Greek Psyche.

Judging by the signatures, these frescoes are the work of four masters, or possibly, of two masters and two apprentices. They all possessed a highly developed technique and adhered to a strict symbolism based on ancient tradition. Both the tradition and symbolism was later inherited by the artists of Byzantium.

In Palestine and outside of it, Syria, Egypt, and other Mediterranean lands, there are ruins of synagogues which were destroyed first by the Romans, then by the Arabs. Most of the synagogues were Hellenistic in style. In some of them, as well as in the Hebrew burial caves[30] mosaic panels of masterly composition and design are extant. For instance, the mosaic floor of the synagogue in Hammam-Lif (Northern Africa) represents the work of an

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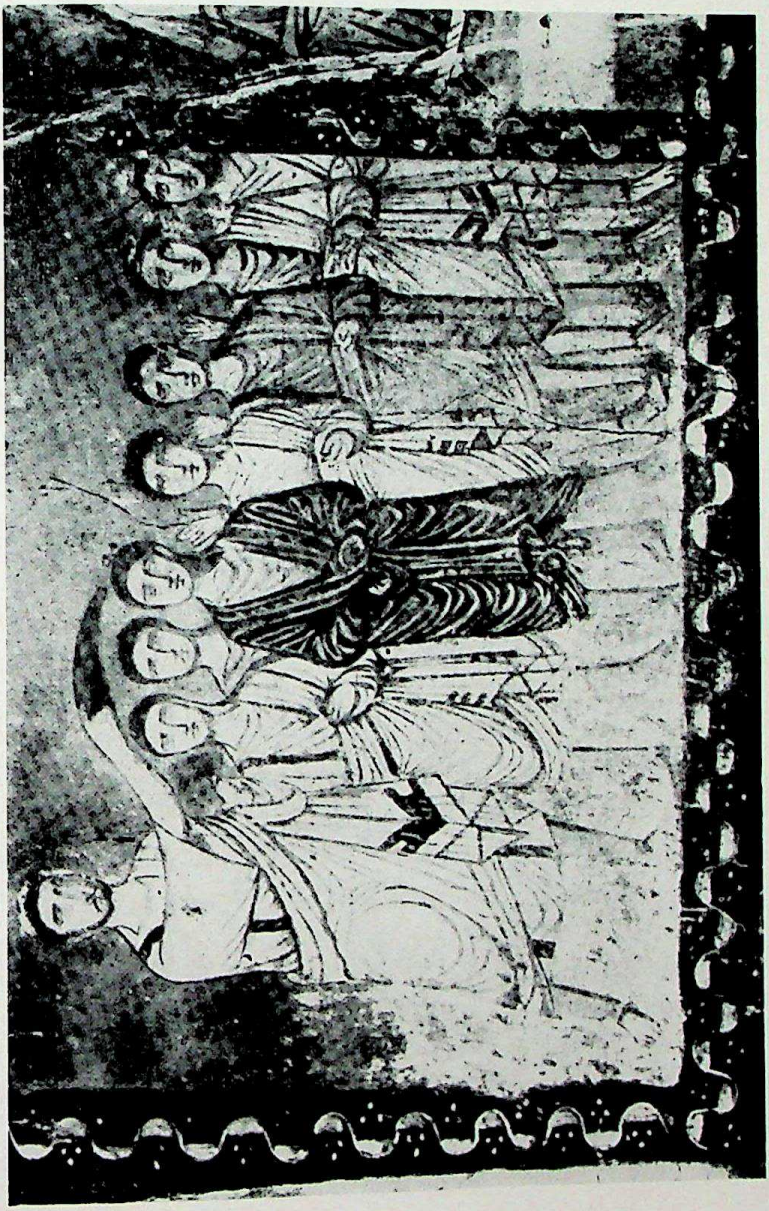

61. Samuel Anointing David.
From: "Les Peintures de Synagogue de Doura Europos 245–256 A.D." by Comte du Mesnil Du Buisson. Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Roma, 1939.

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accomplished master.[31] The mosaic floor of the nave in the synagogue Beth Alfa in the Valley of Ezdraedon in Palestine excavated by E. L. Sukenik in 1929, dates from the sixth century A.D. Despite the fine ornamental stylization, the treatment of the figures is primitive.[32] The whole is an interesting composition, and its colors are rich in warm yellow, brown and red tones, with the addition—sparingly applied—of green. In the center of this mosaic floor is a representation of the Chariot of Helios, the solar divinity of the Greeks, while the upper and lower panels represent the traditional Hebrew images. The mosaic bears a Greek inscription with the names of the artists: Marianos and his son Hanina. "They were evidently Greek-speaking Jews from abroad," states E. L. Sukenik.[33]

The popular art of Jewish painters from the earliest known manuscripts, found full expression in illustrating manuscripts, particularly in the *Haggadah*.[34] However, the *Haggadah* was illustrated by both popular craftsmen and by well-schooled artists who possessed highly developed techniques. These manuscripts show the influence of the contemporary schools of paintings era by era. Material for the study of illustrated Hebrew manuscripts is abundant. Most of the manuscripts have been found outside of Palestine. The earliest illustrated Hebrew manuscripts to reach us belong to the period of the ninth-eleventh centuries of our era and were found in a synagogue on the outskirts of Cairo.[35] Among them is a book of the Pentateuch written in 930 A.D. in an ornamental script by Salomo Halevi Barbujah, and richly illustrated. Its illustrations in style have much in common with the mosaic floor of Beth Alfa.

In antiquity, an illustrator usually was also a bookbinder and calligrapher. Calligraphy, as in all Oriental arts, occupied a place of respect in Hebrew art. To calligraphy, of all the forms of art, belonged the supreme honor: here only was permitted the "representation" of God by means of the four symbolic, sacred letters in Hebrew signifying God's name.

Jewish masters frequently also illustrated books of secular content, like the animal fables of Ibn Sahulah and the works of the

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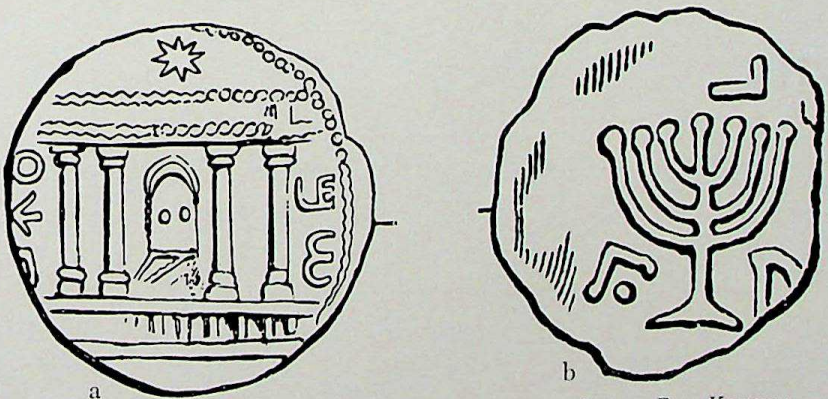
famous Persian philosopher and doctor, Avicenna, translated into Hebrew.

When, with the loss of Palestine, the dispersion of the Jews began to all parts of the world, two tendencies appeared in Jewish art. The first tendency manifested itself in secular arts and crafts of the adopted lands where the Jewish painters happened to find themselves. They became integrated into the culture of their adopted countries as goldsmiths, weavers, book-binders, glass-blowers, book-illuminators, and thus contributed to the creative activities of these countries. The second tendency was preoccupation with sacred Hebrew ritual art, embellishment of objects related to their faith (i.e., candelabrums, plates, goblets, Torah schieds and crowns, etc.) and illumination of sacred books and scrolls, which preserved the ancient forms and symbols and the intensified memory of Jerusalem.

The desire for a national Hebrew State and a national art received fresh impetus at the end of the nineteenth century when the Zionist movement began. Many Jewish artists joined this movement.

In 1906 a school of arts and crafts was founded in Jerusalem. The name "Bezalel" School, given it by its founder Boris Schatz (1865–1933), is symbolic. It emphasizes the continuity of Hebrew



a b

62. a. Coin of the Second Revolt, Struck by Simon Bar Kochba.
b. Maccabean Coin.
Photos by Frank J. Darmstaedter. Courtesy of the Jewish Museum, New York.

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art—its succession from the first Biblical painter Bezalel, ordained by God himself. After the creation of the National State of Israel in 1948, many painters of Jewish origin have gone to Israel with a firm determination to devote all their power and skill to a renaissance of Hebrew art on the soil of its original inspiration—the Holy Land. Art galleries and exhibitions have been established in the main cities of the country and there is great general interest in artistic matters.

It is difficult to foresee what the art of Israel will be. At present, it is "international" in style since many of the artists now living there came from abroad and are oriented in the various trends in the art of Europe and of America.[36] Nevertheless the one unifying factor is the theme connected in one way or another with the national history of the Jewish people. Landscapes of the Holy Land, which harbor in them association with the Bible, are a great source of spiritual and artistic inspiration. As an example we may cite the work of M. Ardon Bronstein, one of the most gifted and characteristic Israeli artists.

> M. Ardon Bronstein's road led him through the modern artistic abstractions of Berlin and Paris to the vision of the biblical lands. . . . Inhaling deeply the atmosphere of the biblical sites, feeling a spiritual union with the rugged soil, he recreated in canvas the essence of the landscape, never a descriptive or sentimental panorama. These visions, seen from a high altitude, make the terrestrial surface evaporate in a multitude of color variations.[37]

Ardon Bronstein is now the director of the New Bezalel School, as the Jerusalem school founded by Boris Schatz was re-named after the latter's death. The New Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts stresses the study and preservation of artistic practices of the Jewish religious art. Hebrew letters continue as the principal decorative motif. This tradition, inherited from the East, flourishes parallel with the later, contemporary modern influences of the Western art.

The East and the West are fused in today's art of Israel, and perhaps precisely this—the reconciliation in art—will be its great mission.

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NOTES

[1] Periods of Palestinian archaeology, as given by Finegan: The Stone Age—up to c. 4500 B.C.; Chalcolithic (copper or bronze and stone) Age—c. 4500-c. 3000 B.C.; Bronze Age—c. 3000-c. 1200 B.C. Iron makes its appearance about 1200 B.C. See Jack Finegan, "Light from the Ancient Past," 1946.

[2] Canaan is the older native name of Palestine. The latter is the Greek name, from Philistia, an area of the Mediterranean coast; the Philistines occupied that area at about 200 B.C. The Bible often refers to Canaan and Canaanites as Phoenicia and Phoenicians. The migration of the Canaanites into Palestine is supposed to have occurred in the second part of the second millennium B.C. Pre-Canaanite people were supposedly the Amorites. They were, in their turn, preceded by the cave-dwellers (as the sites of Gezer show); Macalister suggests the identity of these cave-dwellers with the Horites of the Bible ("Horites" means "cave-dwellers").

[3] Dorothy Garrod and D. Bade, *The Stone Age of Mount Carmel,* excavations at the Wadi el Mughara, 1927.

[4] These plastic statues were made by smearing *hawarah* (native lime marl) on a framework of reeds, which formed a kind of skeleton. See W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine,* 1949.

[5] Nelson Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan,* 1945.

[6] R. A. S. Macalister, The Excavations of Gezer, 1912.

[7] G. A. Barton in *Archaeology and the Bible,* 1916, p. 104, gives the following description: "A cromlech is a heap of stones, roughly resembling a pyramid; a menhir is a group of unhewn stones so set in the earth as to stand upright like columns; a dolmen consists of a large unhewn stone which rests on two others which separate it from the earth; and a gilgal is a group of menhirs set in a circle. Similar monuments of the stone age have been found in Japan, India, Persia, the Caucasus, the Crimea, Bulgaria; also in Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, Malta, southern Italy, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Isles, Spain, Portugal, France, the British Isles, Scandinavia, and the German shores of the Baltic. Some scholars hold that all these monuments were made by one race of men, who migrated from country to country. As the monuments are not found at very great distances from the sea, the migrations are supposed to have followed the sea coasts."

[8] Pottery found at Jericho (Jericho Stratum VIII) and Wadi Ghazzeh is characteristic of the early Chalcolithic period. Teleirat Ghassul is the site which gave the name (*Ghassulian*) to the type of pottery of the middle Chalcolithic. The pottery found at Beth-shan and Byblus is characteristic for the late Chalcolithic and early Bronze Age. See Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine.* Pelican Books. London, 1949.

[9] A. Mallon, R. Koeppel, and Rene Neuville, *Teleirat Ghassul I,* compte rendu des fouilles de l'Institut Biblique Pontifical, 1929-1932.

[10] Albright, *op. cit,* p. 68.

[11] Lewis Brown, *The Graphic Bible,* 1928, p. 21.

[12] According to Finegan, Abraham (from whom the Hebrew nation traces its descent) entered Canaan in 1935 B.C. It is apparently somewhere in the territory of Ur in Mesopotamia that we must look for the birthplace of the Hebrew nation. Some scholars identify the Hebrews who penetrated Canaan with people called Habiru mentioned in Babylonian and Egyptian records. Habiru were nomads herding sheep and cattle. Abraham might have been a chieftain of one of the tribes forming this group of people, but there is no certainty.

[13] The cherubs on the cover of the Ark of the Covenant were made by divine command, which in this case the Second Commandment did not prohibit. Symbolic representations as decoration were allowed; prohibitions evidently only concerned images likely to become idols of worship, replacing the purely spiritual concept of the divine.

[14] The columns were placed at the entrance to the sanctuary and are described in detail in the Bible (II Chronicles).

[15] Nebuchadnezzar, son of Babylonian King Nabopolazzar. Nebuchadnezzar ascended the throne in 605 B.C.

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[16] Except for the Ark of the Covenant which, apparently, had not been found.

[17] Franz Landsberger, *A History of Jewish Art*, 1946, p. 126.

[18] Formerly "Jews" was applied only to the inhabitants of Judea, a southern province of Palestine, but from that time on one can speak about "Jews" in a more general sense.

[19] The ruins in Araq el Emir may represent the remains of this palace, the description of which is given by Josephus (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XII, 4, 11), a noted Jewish historian who lived in the first century of our era.

[20] The Hellenistic Period in Palestine c. 300-63 B.C. was followed by Roman Period, 63 B.C.-323 A.D. Finegan, *Light of the Ancient Past*, p. 128.

[21] A description of the Herodian Temple was left by Josephus.

[22] Today in Jerusalem on the top of Mount Moriah, the site of the Temple, stands the Mosque of Omar (Kubbat el Sakhra) also called "Dome of the Rock." The living rock exposed in the interior of the mosque, according to legend, is the stone on which Abraham planned to sacrifice his son, Isaac, in response to divine command. In Solomon's Temple, on that same rock, tradition tells us, stood the Altar of the Holocaust. The west wall supporting the foundation of the mosque terrace is known as the Wailing Wall. Tradition states that it was built with stones from Solomon's temple (it probably does contain some stones of that epoch, but most of the masonry consists of stones from the Herodian Temple).

[23] According to the law, there could be only one Temple and it had to stand on the soil of Canaan.

[24] E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*. London, Oxford University Press, 1934. There are still many conflicting views regarding the origin of the synagogue—the place, time and purpose of its appearance.

[25] E. R. Bevan, *House of Seleucus*. E. Arnold, London, 1902.

[26] The Arabs called those ruins Salihiya—the place of Salah—in honor of their favorite hero, Saladin. The city of Dura was located approximately in the locality where, several thousand years ago, stood Tirkah—the capital of the wealthy state of Khana-Mari. Khana-Mari derived its name from its two major tribes. The tribe of Khan lived in the north and its chief city was Tirkah, while the chief city of the south was Mari (Maer). In the third millennium, they were wealthy commercial towns to which people came from all sides. Among them probably the Habiru who went there to sell their sheep and the produce of their handicraft, as well as to learn various trades. The Hebrews preserved their ties with that land after their Babylonian captivity; and as recently as the eleventh century of our era, there were, in Khana-Mari, Hebrew academies of learning which enjoyed great fame.

[27] C. H. Kraeling, "The Wall Decoration" in the *Preliminary Report on the Synagogue of Dura*, Yale University Press, 1936.

[28] Comte Du Mesnil Du Buisson, *Les Peintures de la Synagogue de Doura Europos*. Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Roma, 1939.

[29] Rachel Wischnitzer, *The Messianic Theme in the Paintings of the Dura Synagogue*, The University of Chicago Press, 1948.

[30] Some of those tombs are located in the Kidron Valley, in the environs of Jerusalem.

[31] Parts of it are in the Bush Collection, Brooklyn Museum.

[32] It is interesting to compare the scheme of its composition with "cosmological Alipana" of Bengal. See Chapter "The Folk Art of Bengal," in this work.

[33] E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*.

[34] *Haggadah* (Narrative)—a collection of manuscripts containing the ritual of Hebrew holidays, prayers, legends and parables.

[35] D. Guenzburg et V. Stassoff, *L'ornament Hebreus*, Berlin, 1905.

[36] See Elias Newman, *Art in Palestine*, 1939. Also, the last chapter in *Jewish Art of 19-20 Centuries* by Karl Schwartz, 1949.

[37] S. S. Kayser, the Preface to the Ardon Bronstein exhibition in the Jewish Museum, New York, 1948.

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PERSIAN ART

Its Distribution and Its Influence

PERSIA became the heir of Assyro-Babylonia. In the year 539 B.C., Nabonidus, the Babylonian King, surrendered to Gobrijas, a general of the Persian King Cyrus. With Cyrus the Achaemenid,[1] begins the political history of Persia as a unified independent unit.

But the history of Persian art begins immeasurably earlier, as shown by archaeological data. Excavations were conducted at Susa[2] by M. Dieulafoy in 1884–86, and during the long period from 1897 to the present, by the French mission under Jacques de Morgan[3] and his successors. They revealed the remains of a prehistoric culture which had flourished as far back as about 3500–4000 B.C., to which period belongs the pottery found in deep strata. The pottery obviously had been imported since it makes its appearance suddenly and reveals a perfection which must have required a long period of fulfillment.

The pottery, very thin and strong, was made on a potter's wheel and decorated. The earliest pottery, called "Susa I," is the finest. Its ornaments are "elegant, very varied, with a very advanced stylization of animals, persons and birds."[4] Let us take as an example the animal on one of the Susa I vessels (at the Louvre). It forms a sort of a rebus: at first glance it seems to be a geometrical ornament, but in reality it is a complicated symbolic representation, an ibex, with a sun symbol introduced into the curve of its

63. POTTERY DESIGN, SUSA I TYPE. From: "Archéologie Mésopotamienne" by André Parrot (Fig. 35). Editions Albin Michel, Paris, 1946.

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horns. The pottery of "Susa II," found in a higher stratum (separated from the first by a layer of ashes and charcoal), while in a large measure akin to the first, is much cruder and its ornamental motifs are less varied.

Pottery similar to that of Susa (although not of equally good craftsmanship) was found elsewhere, for instance, in the region to the north-east of Susa (at Mussian, Ali-Abad, Khazinech), in Tepe-Giyan[5] and Kamterlan in Luristan, at Tepe-Hissar in the region of Damghan,[6] in Maragha by Lake Urmia in Azerbeijan, on the Island of Bender-Bushir near the eastern shores of the Persian Gulf, and in southern Mesopotamia. These finds indicate that the type of culture represented by Susa spread over a very wide region.

Cylinder seals with animal representations were also found at Susa; the symbolism of these animal representations seems to be related to that of Sumer-Akkad and also to the ancient civilization of the Indus Valley. For example, one of these animal representations is "the ambiguous bovidae . . . the most frequent figure on the Mohenjo-Daro seals."[7]

64. Two Bronzes. Probably, North-Western Iran.
Collection George A. Rubissow.

This "ambiguous bovidae" represents also one of the main subjects of the mysterious bronzes of Luristan. Those bronzes, a considerable number of which were found in the mountain region of Luristan, were exhibited for the first time in Europe in 1929 and

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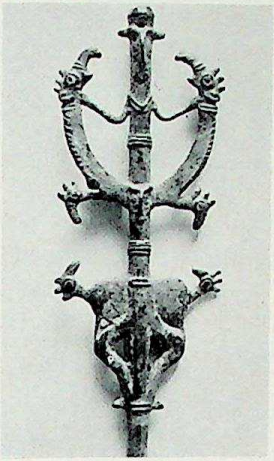

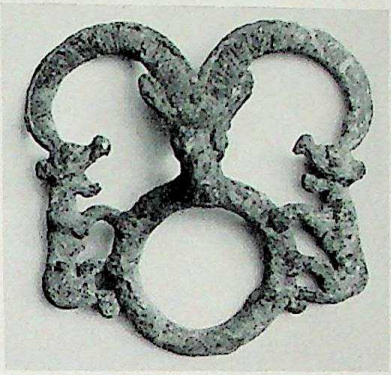

64a. Luristan Bronzes.
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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evoked there a great deal of interest. It is supposed that these bronzes were the product of the culture of a people who were natives of Iran. However, similar bronzes in smaller quantities were found in Asia Minor, in northern Iran, and in Azerbeijan. They show a close affinity with the art of the Caucasus.

The objects had various functions. The largest group consists of parts of harnesses. The activities of the people were linked with the horse, and their art is accentuated by the representation of the horse showing its elan and vigor. Another large group of Luristan bronzes consists of vases for religious use, and of talismans. The religious form is linked with the Tree of Life and apparently represents an ancient cult of the Mother Goddess. One of the Luristan bronzes (in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York) might well be called a prototype of Diana of Ephesus. This statuette with the lower part of the body column-like, is large-eared or horned, and wears a high headdress. Her two indistinct hands support her breasts. She wears a heavy necklace; her shoulders are surmounted by birds' heads. The middle of her torso, separated from the column-like lower part of the body by a girdle, represents a mask. We have here an example of stylized abstract art based entirely on symbolism.

The problem of dating Luristan bronzes is extremely difficult. Judging by the objects where it was possible to prove dates, the majority belong to two periods: 2600–2100 B.C., and 1200–900 B.C. It is possible that these groups represent two different, though kindred cultures. The people who made the bronzes were highly skilled in the processing of metals. An extraordinary variation of hues was achieved, bronze to silver (which was made by adding lead), gold, and near black. They further possessed a strong sense of rhythmic decorativeness which we call "style," an outstanding feature of all Persian works of art.

Achaemenids (531–331 B.C.)

In the art of the Achaemenid dynasty epoch, brilliant and monumental, Iranian elements are harmoniously blended with Egyptian, Assyro-Babylonian and Hellenic.

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In the environs of Persepolis, capital of the Achaemenids, are the tombs of the kings. Among them is the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, built by himself. The gabled roof of the tomb chamber surmounts a stepped pyramid of dressed stone, and was originally surrounded by columns which are now broken and have fallen into ruin. The tombs of Darius I and his successors—Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Darius II—are hewn out of the living rock of cliff walls, in the form of four gigantic crosses some thirty feet above the ground. In the center of each cross, between two sculptured columns, is a door leading into the interior of the tomb.

In the ruins of the Palace of Persepolis[8] bas-reliefs were brought to light representing the bearing of tribute. The varied types of tribute bearers—representatives of the twenty-eight provinces of the vast Persian Empire—their garments and their tribute provide prolific ethnographic material.

On the face of the inaccessible Rock of Behistun, at a height of more than one hundred feet, there is a bas-relief on which Darius Gistasp proclaimed for later generations the history of his victories. This bas-relief, dated 516 B.C., shows the great king, accompanied by two warriors, resting one foot on the body of the defeated mutineer Gaumata. Nine other rebels, reduced to obedience and tied with a rope, stand before the king; among them, Skunka the Scythian is prominent because of his great height and big pointed cap. Rising out of a flaming circle above the heads of the group hovers a representation of the "Wise Lord," Ahura-Mazda. Beneath and beside the relief, and partly extending above it, is an account of Darius's victory over the rebels. The tri-lingual text inscribed in Persian, Elamite and Babylonian cuneiform, made it possible to decipher the cuneiform script.[9] The monument is truly a royal gift from King Darius Gistasp to later ages.

The Macedonians (Seleucids)

The Persia of Achaemenids had long been in contact with Hellenic culture, largely through her occupation of Greek cities in Asia Minor. After the victory at Gaugamala in 331 B.C., and his conquest of Persia, Alexander proclaimed himself King of Persia

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and intensified further the earlier Greek contact. After his death, Alexander was succeeded by one of his generals, Seleucus, whose dynasty continued the Hellenizing process. The entire period from the Achaemenids to the Sassanids is marked by the predominance of Hellenic influence.

But Persian national traditions had been formed and had grown strong in earlier times, with their roots on one hand from the heart of Asia, and on the other hand from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. The Greek artists who came to Persia from Macedonia during Alexander's reign (331–323 B.C.) soon became themselves Persianized.

The Parthians (Arsacids)

The Parthian dynasty of the Arsacids (300 B.C.–226 A.D.), the "herdsmen's kings," who replaced the Seleucids in western Iran about the middle of the second century B.C., were the bearers of a tradition related to the Persian. Firdausi[10] not infrequently uses the name "Parthian" when speaking of the heroes of legendary antiquity. In this period belongs the important inscribed monument of Paikuli, published by Herzfeld.

As far as one can judge by the comparatively few remaining examples of the art of the Arsacid period, it was international, incorporating both Oriental and Occidental elements. To this art belong the frescoes of Dura-Europos situated on the Euphrates river. They were preserved partly because of their remoteness from the important centers, but, above all, by the dry climate and sands of the desert which drifted in and buried the abandoned city. During the military campaign of 1920, British soldiers, who had established a machine-gun post amidst these ruins, accidentally discovered the frescoes when a house wall collapsed.

The find was reported to the American commission which was working in the region at the time. J. H. Breasted of the Oriental Institute of Chicago made the first records and notes.[11] The work could not be continued because of military operations, but was resumed in 1922–23 by the Belgian expedition headed by Frantz Cumont;[12] and continued later, during the period of 1928–1937 by

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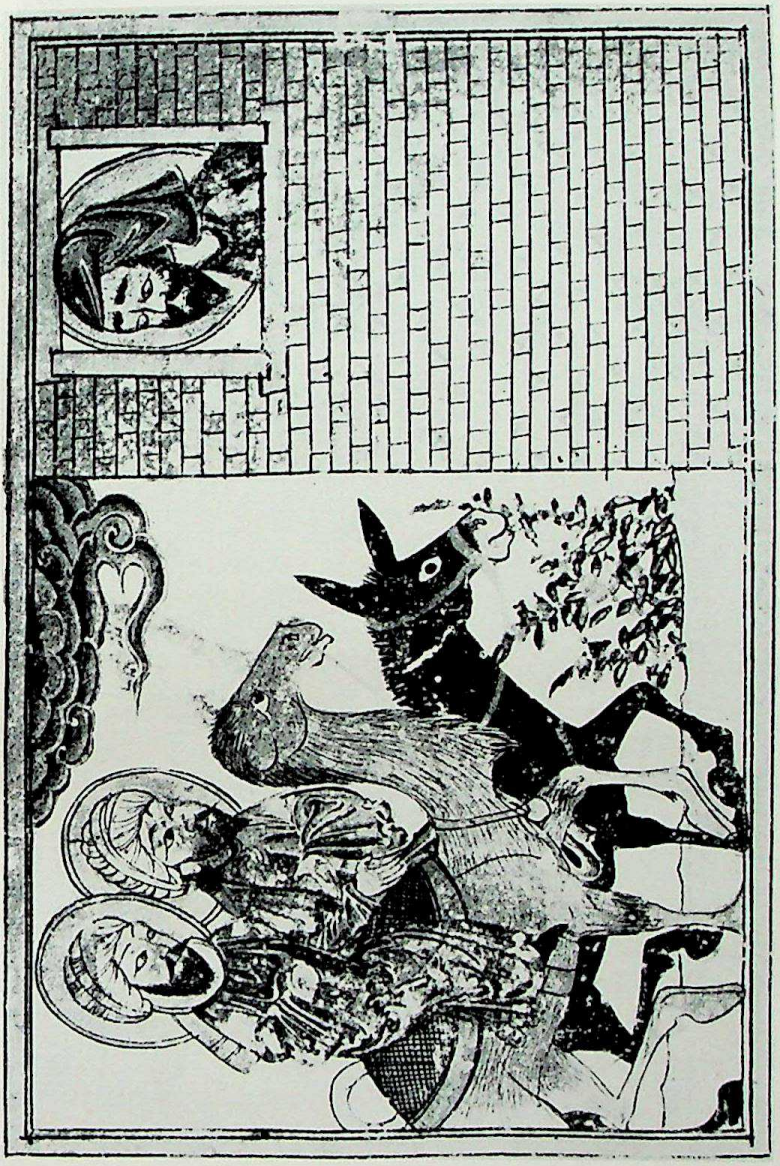

65. Vision of Isaiah.
From Manuscript of al-Athar-al-Baqiyah, by al-Beruni. In University Library, Edinburgh, fol. 49 b.

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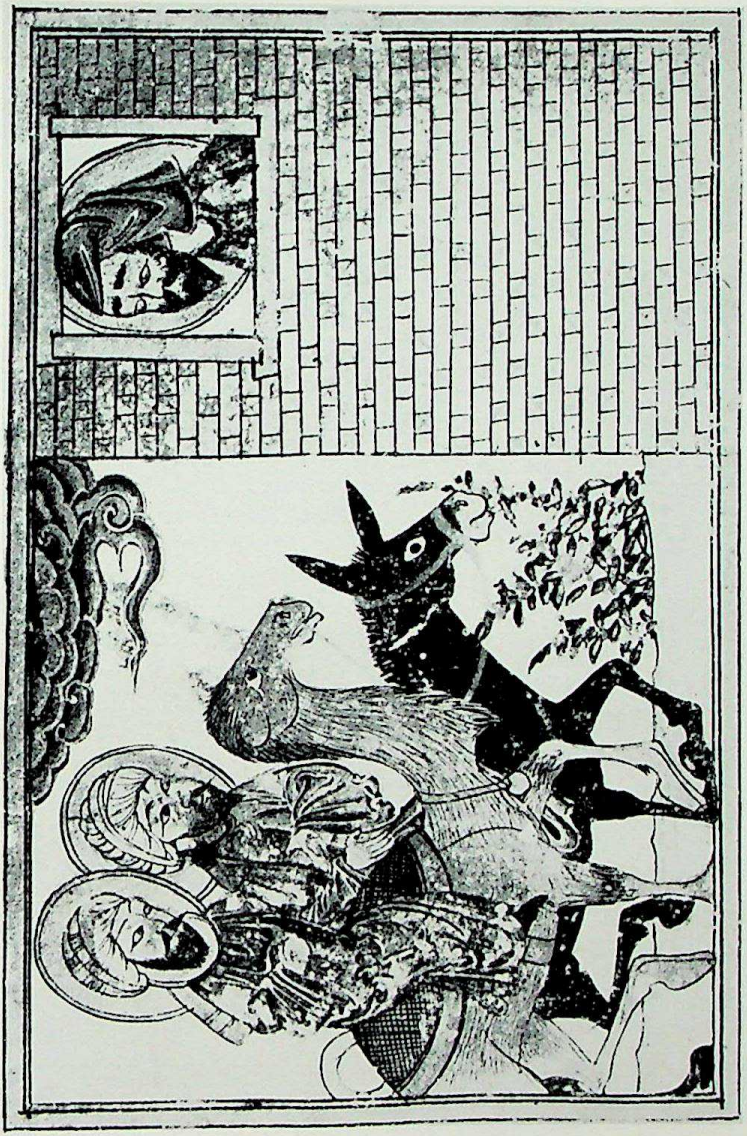

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ten expeditions of Yale University and l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres of France.[13]

The excavations revealed that frescoes of different epochs covered the walls of most of the buildings in Dura. Of great interest are the frescoes in the temple of Palmyrean gods, a synagogue, a Christian chapel, and in a Mithraic chapel. The frescoes in the temple of Palmyrean divinities belong to different epochs ranging from the middle of the first to the middle of the third centuries of our era. One of the earlier frescoes represents a sacrificial scene. In the presence of members of the devout Parthian family Canon (as its name appears in inscriptions), two priests wearing white robes and high white headdresses are performing the sacrifice of fire and water.[14] This recalls to us the scene of a sacrifice of fire and water in the frescoes of Zimlirim's palace in Mari, which anteceded the artists of Dura by some 3000 years. Apparently, just as priests perpetuated the ancient religious tradition, so the painters of Dura-Europos continued the artistic tradition of Sumero-Akkad.

Canon's fresco, signed by "Ilasamsos," is painted in a deep and quiet range of colors, keyed not in contrasts (characteristic of Babylon) but in nuances, more akin to the manner of the painters of Ajanta. The stylized folds of the garments and the rhythmic outlines of the figures are combined with some freedom of movement; the sparingly used chiaroscuro, the mellow interplay of light and shadow, in contrast to the sharp garish effect of Assyro-Babylonian painting, foreshadows the Byzantine painting.[15]

It is interesting to note that all the figures depicted in the frescoes of the temple of Palmyrean divinities and in the synagogue, face the shrine in the temple proper, a principle of Oriental religious art later observed by Byzantine artists. Another fresco, artistically less interesting, but of great documentary value, shows a Roman official performing a sacrifice in accordance with Palmyrean rites. Above him is represented the Palmyrean trinity; to the left appear figures of "Fortunas" (divinities protecting cities); below is a symbolic representation of the Euphrates. In Breasted's opinion this fresco and several others of mythological content,

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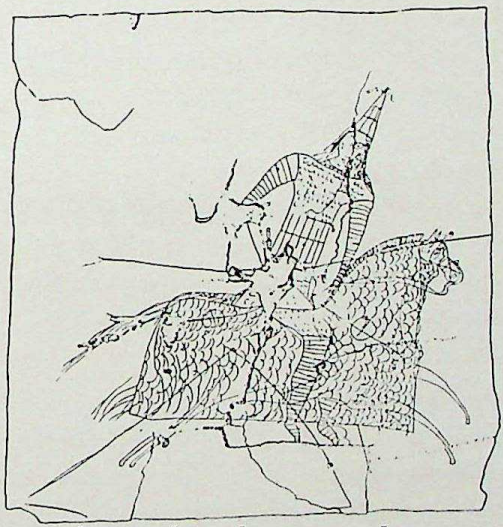
were made some 50 to 100 years later than the Canon frescoes. One already perceives in them signs of decline: The composition is weaker; the spirituality of faces so remarkable in Canon's fresco is lacking; the faces do not possess individual expression; the colors are poorer.

In another excavated building at Dura-Europos, the "House of Frescoes," described by Rostovtzeff,[16] built at the end of the first century B.C. and rebuilt after an earthquake in 160 A.D., one fresco represents a battle or tournament. The Parthian knights shown here, as well as on the graffiti scratched on the plastered walls (in the temple of Artemis, the temple of Aplad,[17] and many other buildings), wear coats of mail and ride horses protected with chain-mail. Rostovtzeff calls them "early forerunners of the knights of the Middle Ages."[18] Some of the knights are armed with



66. Graffiti from Dura-Europos.
a. A Heavy-Armed Horseman.
From: M. Rostovtzeff, "Caravan Cities," Oxford, 1932.

bows and arrows: "These are the Parthian bowmen whom even the Romans feared . . . the very men who overwhelmed Crassus' troops with showers of arrows."[19]

As previously mentioned, the excavations revealed a Christian chapel.[20] The frescoes of the chapel belonging in the end of the second and beginning of the third centuries, are very interesting for their early Christian symbolism. Some of them, like the fresco representing women bearing ointments, possess high artistic qual-

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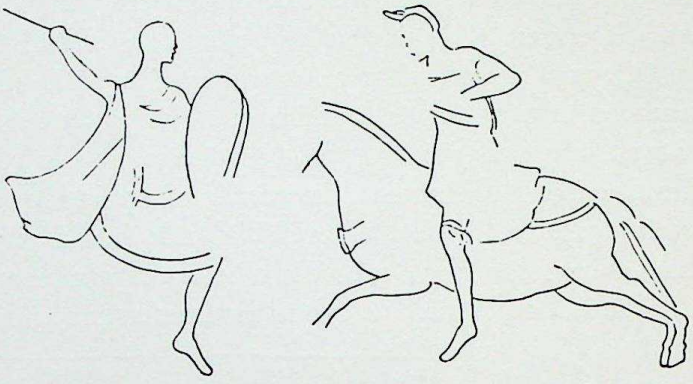
ity. The fortunate discovery of the Dura-Europos frescoes shed new light on the art and life of many peoples of the Near East during a highly important transitional era. Here is graphically demonstrated the continuity of artistic tradition throughout the millennia.[21]



66b. GRAFFITI FROM DURA-EUROPOS.
From: M. Rostovtzeff, "Caravan Cities," Oxford, 1932.

The Sassanids

In the year 226 A.D., Ardashir[22] reunited Persia under his rule and founded the second national Persian dynasty, the Sassanid dynasty, 226–652 A.D. A period of comparative political calm, always propitious to the development of science and art, was inaugurated.

The art during this epoch, as during the Achaemenid period, reflects the "heroic past." The deeds of the Sassanids, Ardashir, Shapur, Bahram-Gur (the "Great Hunter" of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam), Chosroes I, and others; their battles, big game hunts, building projects, and various occupations, became the favorite themes of Persian artists.

The Sassanids established their capital at Ctesiphon on the Tigris river, the former capital of the Parthian Empire. Ctesiphon was a wealthy city and a brilliant artistic center. Of this city now only ruins remain, and of the luxurious "White Palace," attributed to the Sassanid king, Shapur I (240–271 A.D.),[23] only one magnificent arch has survived.

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The excavations conducted at Ctesiphon in 1931–1932 by the joint expedition of German State Museums and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, unearthed numerous fragments of wall paintings.[24] These murals seem to belong to the time of Chosroes I. Their color palette is rich (brown, tan, yellow-green, yellow, pink, red, and blue are used). The painters employed a thick, black outline, a feature prevalent in Mesopotamia from the most ancient times.

It is only from these and some few other fragments[25] that we can form an opinion concerning the painting of the Sassanian epoch, although lengthy accounts in contemporary literature show beyond question that painting played an important role. However, we have an additional basis for this judgment, for the motifs of Sassanian paintings are later repeated in the art of early Islam in Persia and Mesopotamia. The mid-ninth century fragments of murals found in the palace of Caliph Mutawakkil during the excavations at Samarra bear this out.[26]

This material suggests that Sassanian paintings were essentially "Oriental" in appearance, the figures severe and forceful, and probably almost invariably posed frontally. The background must have been formal rather than naturalistic, and the whole basis of the art abstract and symbolic, conceived in a decorative manner, if the word be used in its most complimentary sense.[27]

The Sassanids hewed monumental bas-reliefs at the foot of the Achaemenid tombs, on the rock of Nakshi-Rustam, thus emphasizing their hereditary dynastic power. They also returned to the religion of their ancestor, Mazdaism, which became the state religion.

Mazdaism, based on the doctrine expounded in the Zend-Avesta,[28] had been Persia's chief religion since the middle of the first millennium B.C. when Zoroaster (Zarathustra),[29] prophet of "the Wise Lord" Ahura-Mazda, lived. Mazdaism is a highly moral religion which rejects animal sacrifice and places the focus of piety in moral development of the individual; "to think well, to speak well, to act well."[30]

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One of the outstanding events of the Sassanian period is the appearance of Manicheism which plays a very important part in the history of painting. Mani (Manes, or Manichaeus, as he was called in the West),[31] founded the religion of the Manichees, which represents an amalgam of three world religions—Mazdaism, Buddhism and Christianity.[32] The Manichees regarded painting as one of the most important elements in religious education. Consequently they no doubt maintained a large staff of artists and art schools, for in the course of more than five centuries Manicheism was a widely professed religion which spread from Egypt to China.

Mani himself was an excellent painter and in time his name came to be used as almost synonymous with "skilled painter." Firdausi refers to Mani not in his role as a prophet but rather as a remarkable illustrator of books. Regrettably, almost all of these books were destroyed during the persecution of the Manichees, which began under the Sassanids. Mani was thrown into prison where he died[33] in 276 A.D. Many of his followers had left the country and escaped to outlying districts or to the mountains. Later, under Mussulman caliphs, the persecution of the Manichees was intensified. They were exterminated by the thousands. They eventually left for Turkestan, Mongolia and China, and, together with their religion, they brought their artistic testament of "Mani the Painter," who called himself "the Ambassador of Light."

During the excavations in Turfan (an oasis in Chinese Turkestan), many illuminated Manichean manuscripts were found. The murals in the ruins of the Manichean chapel on the site of the ancient city of Chotsho[34] convey an impression of the complexity of Manichean art, which became to a large extent the custodian of the artistic tradition of ancient Persia of the Sassanids during the later epoch of Islamism.

The Caliphate[35]

(Omayyad Caliphate, 661–750: Abbasid Caliphate, 750–1258)

Persia was conquered by the Arabs in the year 635 A.D. under Omar, Mohammed's second caliph. The caliphs, successors of the

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Prophet, spread the faith of Islam by fire and sword. Because their religious laws forbade the depicting of any "living thing," they destroyed much of the art of the conquered nations.

The Islamic creed tolerated no compromises. Allah alone may create. It was held that painters and sculptors in the creation of painting or sculpture aspired toward the forbidden. "In the Last Judgment," states one of the *hadith* (Mohammed's dicta), "Allah will order them to infuse with life everything they had imagined," and when they prove unable to do so, for only Allah can give life, they will, as deceivers and usurpers, be cast into the fiery Gehenna. Since nobody wanted to be cast into Gehenna, the "false images," both sculptured and painted ceased to be produced by the faithful. Thus began in Islam the development of the abstract ornamental style which characterizes the art of Islam.[36]

The innate unconquerable artistic instinct, and the longing to create beauty was directed toward what was permitted, the decoration of books, generally the Koran, "the book which includes all." Thus, the decoration of books became a highly revered, supreme art.

At first, the decoration of books consisted exclusively in calligraphy, which included page ornaments, and artistic bindings. But gradually, notwithstanding the Prophet and the fear of Gehenna, the "image" (the miniature) crept in. Ultimately, the representation of human and animal forms triumphs, and the Prophet is seen astride a mystic winged horse ascending to heaven (teeming with Houris).

Wall paintings with figures like the frescoes of Qusayr' Amra,[37] in Trans-Jordan, among them the famous "Zodiac," belong to the beginning of the eighth century, the time of the Omayyad caliphs. To the same epoch belong most of the mosaics in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, Palestine, and in the Great Mosque of Damascus, in Syria.

Persia's art after the Arab conquest attained its fullest expression under the Abbasid caliphs. During this time Persia was a part of the colossal Empire of the Caliphate which extended from Spain to Samarkand. Relations with the East, China and India, as

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with Europe, were easily maintained. The capital of the Empire was Bagdad, the heart of Mesopotamia; and the art production of the time is often called the "Mesopotamian School."

The Abbasids were Shiites,[38] who, in contrast to the Orthodox Sunnites, did not adhere strictly to the dicta of Islamic law in art. Encouraging the arts, they surrounded themselves with poets, actors and artists. Harun-al-Rashid (786–809), fifth caliph of the Abbasid dynasty, "the crowning glory of the Abbasid caliphate," was a great patron of literature and art. He selected his closest friend, Prince Jaffar of the Persian Barmecide family, as his vizier. Prince Jaffar, a convert to Islam, was a direct descendant of Zoroastrian priests. Poets, artists and scientists gathered around him, his family and his caliph.[39]

The main form of art under the Abbasids remained book decoration. At the beginning, illustration was only a branch of calligraphy. The name of the calligrapher, rather than the illustrator appeared as the signature. Later, when book illustration had developed and gained freedom, both signatures appeared, that of the calligrapher and that of the illustrator—but the calligrapher's name always came first, even if the years of the writing and the illustrating of the book did not coincide. This gave rise to one of the difficulties in arriving at an exact chronology of miniature painting.

Although Islamic law banned pictures, there still inevitably remained scientific subjects where illustrations were indispensable, as in treatises on astronomy, medicine, physics and geography. Jazari's book on mechanical contrivances written in Syria in 1180, and the famous manuscript of Dioscrides, dated 1222, are fine examples of such illustrated books.

Gradually, illustration penetrated into general literature and poetry. A variety of books were the favorites of the Persian master illustrators for several centuries. One of them is *Kalila wa Dimna* by Ibnu'l Muqaffa (about 760 A.D.) a translation of the Pehlevi version of the "Fables of Bidpai" originally written in Sanscrit in 3rd cent. A.D. Its heroes are the fox, goat, crow, wolf, and other animals. All these "characters" are familiar to us through

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their European relatives, the *Fables* by La Fontaine in France, the *Story of Reinecke the Fox* in Germany, or the *Fables* by Kryloff in Russia. Another very popular book to be illustrated was *Maqamat* or *Assemblies* by Hariri. But perhaps the greatest popularity of all was enjoyed by *Shah-namah* ("the Book of Kings"), an epic poem by Firdausi, glorifying the exploits of Bharam-Gur and other national heroes of ancient Persia.

Firdausi wrote his poem at the order of Sultan Mahmud, ruler of the semi-independent principality of Ghazna, with the town of Ghazna as its capital. Mahmud (998–1030), who was of Turkish lineage, made Ghazna a cultural center by inviting scientists, artists and poets to reside there. He also invited Firdausi, and in so doing added greatly to his own glory. According to one of his contemporaries, Firdausi worked "in a room decorated with painting."

Illustrators were allowed greater freedom in far-away Ghazna, and it is possible that many miniatures of the Abbasids originated there.

The miniatures of the Ghaznavids, as well as of the Samanids (900–1229), who preceded them in Khurasan, differ but little in style from those of the School of Bagdad, and belong to the same "international" Mesopotamian School.

The same, on the whole, may be said of the epoch of the Seljuks Turkish dynasties (eleventh to thirteenth centuries).[40] But the growing influence of Byzantium was beginning to make itself felt in their art.

In eastern Iran, the Seljukids were succeeded by the Shahs of Khwarizm (Khiva); the last were defeated by Jenghiz-Khan (1162–1227) in 1220. The great region of Khwarizm, reduced to obedience by the mighty Khan, became the door through which the Mongols penetrated into the heart of the Caliphate Empire. In 1258 Bagdad was captured by the troops of Hulagu, founder of the Ilkhan dynasty.[41] Mustasim, the last caliph of the Abbasid dynasty was executed, the city looted and some 90,000 of its inhabitants exterminated. Hulagu transferred the capital to Maragha, in the region of Lake Urmia (in Azerbeijan).

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Persia's Mongolian Dynasties
The Ilkhan dynasty, 1220–1335
Timur and the Timurids, 1369–1502

Although the new chapter in the history of Persia opened with so much violence, almost immediately with the return of peaceful conditions there was a signal revival in art, characterized by a renaissance of national tradition.

The destinies of the Persians and the Arabs had been bound together for a long period under the Caliphate; the majority of Persians had embraced Islam; Arab script replaced pahlavi. Yet, in spite of all this, the Persians never became assimilated with the Arabs. Persian national tradition, differing radically from the Arabian both in religion and in art, had been carefully and piously preserved. This may explain the almost spontaneous revival upon the lifting of religious and artistic prohibitions.

The Mongols, even after they too had embraced Islam, observed a certain degree of religious tolerance and accorded much greater freedom to the people of conquered nations than the Arabs. Although they brought with them new outward forms, a Mongolian type of face, a different style in clothes, a new breed of horse, and above all, a strong Chinese influence, art under their rule became much more natively Persian than it had been under the Arabs. The miniatures appeared again out of the labyrinth of decorative ornament to which art had been reduced by the ban on images. Under the Mongols the art of Persian miniature painting attained its ultimate perfection.

To the period of the first Mongolian dynasty belongs the manuscript *Natural History*, written by Ibn Bakhtishu, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. It was completed in 1295, in Tabriz, the new cultural center in Azerbeijan, which became the center of artistic life. Its representations of animals, although reminiscent of the traditional characters of Bidpai fables, are treated with much greater freedom.

The *History of the World* by Rashid ad-Din, a monumental work of exceptional interest is characteristic of this period.[42] It

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consists of two parts. The first is a collection of narratives on religious themes, Christian, Buddhist and Mussulman; the second, written before the first, is a history of the Mongols. A staff of artists and calligraphers worked on this opus in the village of Rashidiyya (in the environs of Tabriz), built especially for Rashid ad-Din (1247–1318), who was a scientist, statesman and patron of the arts. In all probability, these artists belonged to various national groups, but the majority must have been Chinese masters, for the Mongolian court regarded China's art as most advanced. A "curious mixture of sensitive Chinese line and hieratic stiffness which the Abbasid School received from Byzantium"[43] characterizes these miniatures. The subject matter plays an important role. In the compositions the somewhat heavy but highly expressive figures occupy the dominant position; gestures are narrative, but the faces are mask-like and devoid of any expression. The picture itself is juxtaposed with the calligraphy as an equally important feature.

To the same period belongs the remarkable illustrated manuscript of *Shah-Nama* written by Firdausi and attributed to the year 1310 by Demotte. A part of it is now in France, and another part in America.

During the epoch of the second Mongol invasion by Timur (1381–1392)[44] and later under his successors, the miniature is gradually released from calligraphy, and becomes an almost independent picture. Simultaneously, there is developing a striving for decorative effect. Figures become smaller, while landscape appears and assume an important part in the composition, with all details carefully executed. One typical detail is the characteristic tree in bloom, the favorite motif of Ming art. China's influence remains strong, but Persians stood for artistic freedom to use it for their aims: "the Chinese for spiritual and emotional expression, and Persians for a supremely decorative effect, full of every delight which he could imagine."[45]

Timur established his capital at Samarkand where he made magnificent improvements. However, strictly orthodox in his religious views and frowning upon images, Timur allowed art to

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thrive only within a given framework. His heirs—his son, Shah Rukh (1404–1447), and his grandsons—patronized the arts, and relaxed these limitations.

Of the early Timurid epoch two excellent manuscripts of the year 1397, produced in Bagdad, are in the British Museum—an illustrated anthology which includes the poem describing the conquest of Jenghiz-Khan "The king of kings" (1167–1227),[46] and three poems by Khajus of Kirman (1281–1350). The dominant colors of the illustrations are turquoise and gold. A manuscript, formerly in the collection of M. Gulbenkian, which was written for Sultan Iskandar, a grandson of Timur, belongs to the same epoch. This manuscript, produced in Shiraz, also an anthology, contains the story of the mystic love of Layla and Majnun, as well as narratives from the "History of the Mongols," and other material. Many different artists worked on this manuscript over a long period. Works of art, as well as the artist were given a place of importance and respect in this society, both by the individual and the state. The artists, working without distractions or haste carried out their work with all the attentive care so necessary to perfection. Beautiful books with beautiful illustrations were prized and were "the most valued presents from one prince to another."[47]

Under Shah Rukh the capital was again transferred from Samarkand to Herat which became the new cultural and political center and remained so until the very end of Mongol rule. The School of Herat marks the classical epoch of the Persian miniature, when its style attained fullness of expression, and technical perfection. At this time, Persian art leads the world, its influence spreads to all corners of the earth.

Two of Timur's grandsons, Ibrahim Mirza and Baisonqur Mirza (d. 1434) were skilled calligraphers. The latter founded the Academy of Artistic Book Production in Herat where forty calligraphers and a large staff of artists and illuminators were employed. The last of the Timurids, Sultan Husain Baiqara, together with his vizier, Mir Ali Shir,[48] contributed greatly to the success of this school by inviting the best artists to participate. With the school

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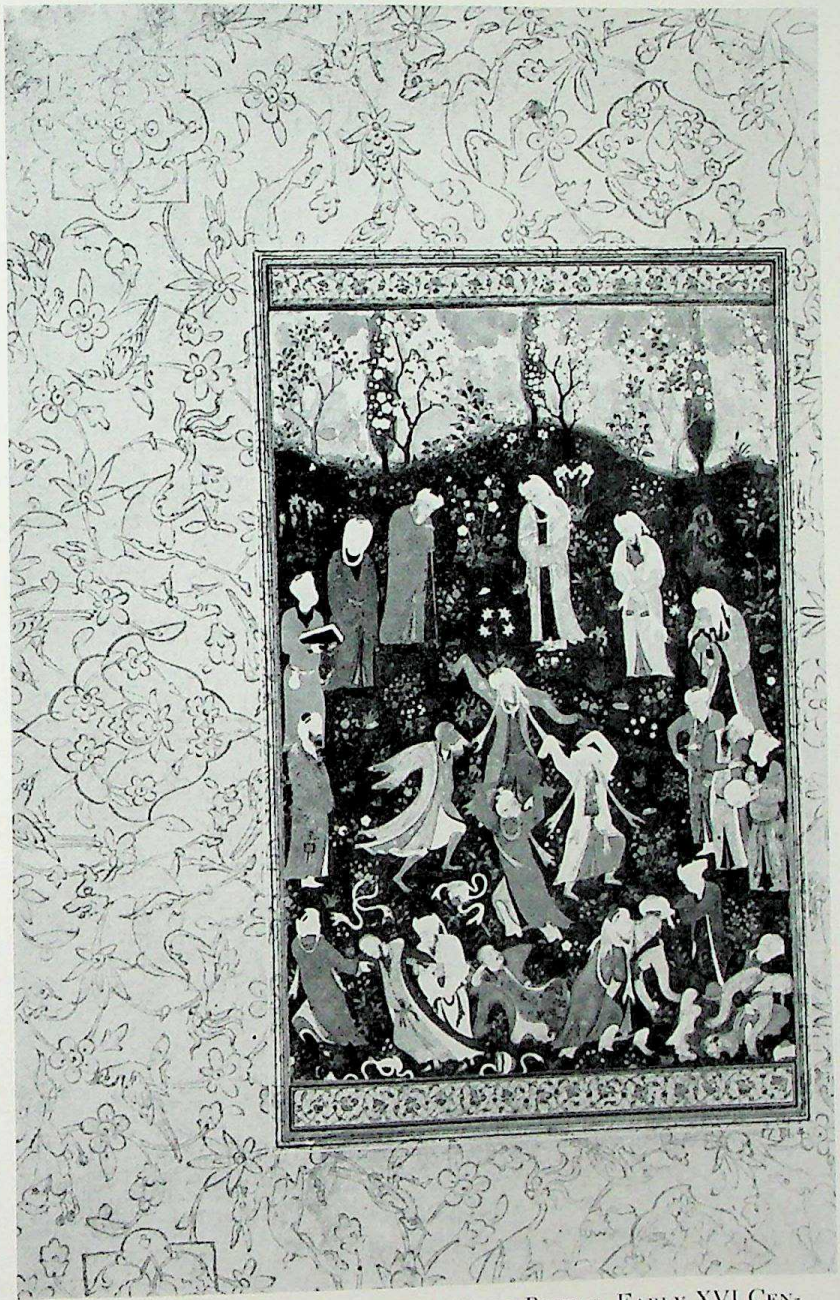

67. Dervishes Dancing. Attributed to Bihzad. Early XVI Century. Leaf from a Diwani (Collection of Poems). Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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is connected the celebrated name of Bihzad, one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of Persian artists.

Bihzad (born about 1440) combined realism with the elaborate decorativeness peculiar to Persia. At the same time he paid tribute to the heroic traditions of the past, with his illustrations on themes from the "Book of Kings." Although he was particularly successful in painting battle scenes, many of his works are distinguished by their lyricism. On the whole, Bihzad's art is full of life and well balanced; it expresses the harmony and joy of worldly existence. Bihzad did not always sign his works and there is a great deal of controversy concerning his authorship of numerous manuscript illustrations. Works based on his sketches and attributed to him, were apparently often executed by his pupils.

The Safavids

With the fall of the Timurid dynasty and the rise to power of the Persian dynasty of the Safavids (1502–1736) the ban on images came to an end and the demand for artists grew considerably. Many miniatures from the epoch of the Safavids remain. They show a high degree of artistic skill.

Ismail was the founder of the Safavid dynasty. He was a prophet and mystic, and at the same time a general and ruler of exceptional ability. He valued highly Bihzad's works and placed him at the head of a staff of artists and calligraphers who worked at his court in Tabriz which was then the capital. Bihzad's pupils and followers were: Mirak, Qasim Ali, Sultan Mohammed, and others. The best known of these was Sultan Mohammed[49] who worked at the court of Shah Tahmasp who ascended the throne in 1524.

Although on the whole the themes of miniature painting remained the same as before, artists displayed greater individuality, and infused their work with originality within the confines of conservative tradition. The illustrated copy of Nizami's poems in the British Museum is a good example of this trend.[50]

Another famous artist who illustrated Nizami's poems was Mir Sayyid Ali, notable for his love of lyrical and pastoral subjects.

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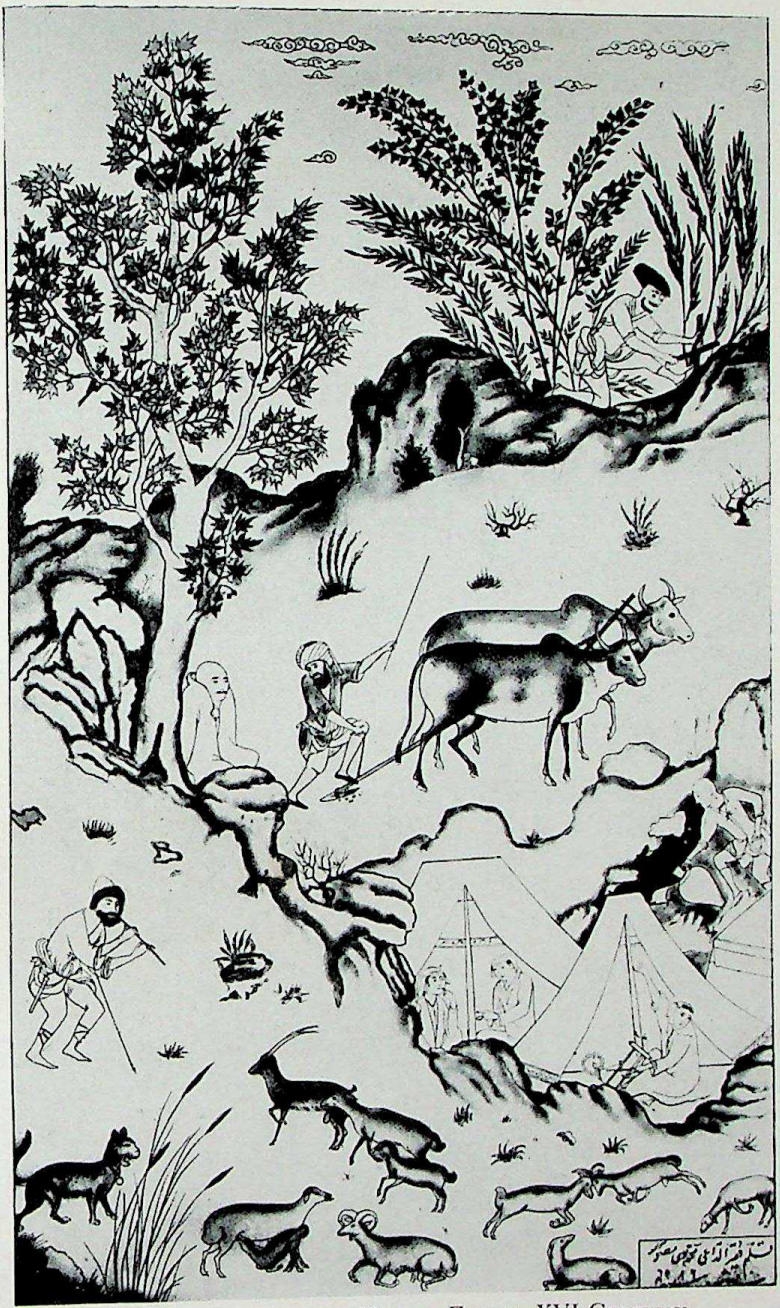

68. Pastoral Scenes. Herat, End of XVI Century (Collection Marteau).

From: Henry René D'Allemagne. "Du Khorassan au pays des Bakhtiaris (trois mois de voyage en Perse)". Paris, Hachette, 1911.

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In 1550, he together with another artist, Abdal-Samad of Shiraz, accompanied Humayun[51] to Kabul (in Afghanistan) and apparently founded there an off-shoot of the School dominated by the Mongolian Timurid style. Probably both painters worked on the Timurid family portrait now in the British Museum.

In general, during the Safavid period interest in portraits increased. Usually portraits were slightly colored pen drawings, with clear-cut lines rendering the entire contour in a single fluid uninterrupted line. Another type of rendering is "the incomplete miniature" which made its appearance at this time.[52]

Drawings in linear style are also characteristic of Riza Abbasi, a painter who headed the School of Isfahan in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Isfahan had become the capital and an important art center under Shah Abbas I (1587–1629). A controversy of identification of signatures has developed around the names Riza Abbasi and Agha Riza. It is possible that both signatures were used by the same person (Abbasi could simply have meant that Riza worked under Shah Abbas), or, and this seems more probable, they are the respective signatures of two different persons.[53]

Riza Abbasi's works, miniatures, portraits, genre, painted with great skill are marked by an interest in realism. But the first signs of decadence, a looseness of design in figures and faces, and a relative weakness in color harmony become evident. This can be seen in his illustrations of the "Khusrau and Shirin," a manuscript now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. However, Riza Abbasi was the last great painter of miniatures. After him, the art of Persian miniature declined rapidly and finally deteriorated into the crude pictures of the bazaar. The works of Mir Afzal of Tun may serve as examples. Still rhythmic, the drawing is interesting in some areas, but the figures are soft and plump. The composition represents a mixture of different styles, for the most part completely lacking in theme. Mir Afzal of Tun and the painter who signed himself simply "Afzal"[54] are most probably two different persons.

European influence reached Persia as far back as the early six-

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69. Fresque D'Isfahan. Replica by S. Katchadourian.

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teenth century when Shah Ismail employed a skillful copyist, Mawlana Mohammed, who made a special study of European art. Bihzad himself occasionally copied works of Italian masters. Other Persian artists copied both religious and secular European works. Often, these copies represent an astonishing mixture of the original and the painter's innovation. The painter copied only what he liked and added to it anything he pleased. A composition by another artist was not regarded as an inviolable individual whole.

The Safavid artists borrowed certain outward forms from Europe. They liked to represent European clothes which appeared decorative to them. But one of the essential traits of European art, the interest in psychological content, remained foreign to them. This is reflected in the frescoes which covered the walls of the Safavid Palace in Isfahan.[55] The discovery of these frescoes confirmed the accounts of many travellers about paintings which adorned the walls of Persian homes.

In the nineteenth century a branch of art which achieved a fine development was lacquer painting. The miniature left the pages of books in favor of the surface of boxes, furniture and various objects of everyday use. Such objects were highly valued by Europeans.

On the whole, Persia's influence on Western art is very great; many traits of the Persian miniature having been adopted almost in their entirety by European artists of the Middle Ages. And to this day, the artists of Europe and America seek inspiration in the inexhaustible richness of Persian ornamental motifs. There still are in Persia—in Isfahan, Teheran, and other sites—excellent painters of miniatures who carry on the tradition of Persian art.

NOTES

1 Cyrus (in Persian, Kuru-sh) the Great was a son of Cambyses I of the clan of Achaemenids, which belonged to the Persian tribe of the Pasargadae.

2 Biblical Shushan. The ruins still bear the name of Shush.

3 M. Dieulafoy, *Les antiquités de Suse découvertes et rapportées par la Mission Dieulafoy* (1884-1896). Paris 1913. J. De Morgan, *Histoire et Travaux de la Délegation en Perse* 1897-1905. "Mémoires de la Mission Archeologique de Perse," *Mission en Susiane* sous la direction de R. De Mecquenem et V. Scheil. Tomes XVI-XXVIII, Paris, 1921-1939. Mémoires de la Mission Archeologique en Iran. *Mission en Susiane,* sous la direction de R. de Mecquenem, G. Contênau, R. Pfister et N. Beliaew. Tome XXIX, Paris, 1943. See also the article in *Illustrated London News,* October, 1950.

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[4] Andre Parrot, *Archéologie Mésopotamienne,* p. 172. Edition Albin Michel, Paris, 1946.

[5] See G. Contênau and R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles du Tepe-Giyan.* P. Geuthner, Paris, 1935.

[6] Tradition names the region of the city of Damghan as the site of the ancient Parthian capital, Hecatompylos. Excavations have not as yet confirmed this fact.

[7] Phyllis Ackerman, "The Moon and Fertility in Early Iran," *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archeology,* December, 1936.

[8] Descriptions of the palace in Persepolis, built by Darius (522-486 B.C.) and his son, Xerxes (486-465 B.C.) in the province of Farizistan, were left by Strabo and Diodorus. In addition, in one of the rock-cut royal graves of Persepolis there remains a bas-relief, hewn on the stone wall, representing that palace.

[9] Henry Rawlinson, to whom belongs the greatest part of the work of decipherment, published his *Memoirs,* with the complete translation, in 1846. Others have also been working on the decipherment: Professors Lassen, Westergaard, Oppert and Fox Talbot, and others.

[10] Great Persian poet, born about 941 A.D.

[11] James Henry Breasted, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting,* 1924.

[12] Frantz Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos,* 1922-23.

[13] M. Rostovtzeff, A. R. Bellinger, C. Hobkins and C. B. Wells, *Excavations at Dura-Europos conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters,* 1936.

[14] Water into which one priest lowers a plant; fire, lighted by another priest.

[15] Morey, "Origin of Early Christian Art."

[16] Rostovtzeff et Alan Little, *La Maison des Fresques de Doura-Europos.* Académie des inscriptions et belle lettres. Mémoires. Paris, 1933.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] The frescoes of the synagogue and the chapel, as well as the frescoes from the temple of Mithra, were transported to America and are now housed in the Museum of Fine Arts at Yale University.

[21] Remnants of Parthian paintings were found also in other places such as in the palace of Kuhi-Kwaja, in eastern Iran.

[22] Legend calls Ardashir, a descendant of Sassan, the direct heir and "avenger" of the Achaemenids.

[23] This date, however, is not fixed with complete certainty.

[24] Second expedition to Ctesiphon, 1931-1932. Summary by M. S. Dimand.

[25] Some of them found in Afghanistan and Turkestan.

[26] Ernest Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra* (*Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra,* Band III), Berlin, 1927.

[27] D. Talbot Rice, "The Cave of Shapur and Sassanian Painting," *Bulletin of the Iranian Institute,* December 1946.

[28] Mazdaist sacred writings. These scriptures were destroyed during Persia's conquest by Alexander the Great and partially restored later.

[29] There is no certitude about Zoroaster's date of birth, about whom there are so many controversial discussions. In particular, the tradition of the Guebers, modern inheritors of ancient Mazdaism, places Zoroaster at about 2000 B.C.

[30] *Le Zoroastrisme, Religion de la Vie Bonne* by Masani. Edition Payot, Paris, 1939, and *The Teachings of Zoroaster and the Philosophy of Parsis Religion* by S. A. Kapadia.

[31] Mani was born in Babylonia of a prominent Parthian family, in 215 A.D. He was educated in the city of Ctesiphon and was a brilliant scholar.

[32] F. Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees,* Cambridge, 1925.

[33] So assert the Manichees themselves. Probably the stories of his crucifixion are of later origin, because they do not appear in contemporary sources.

[34] See Von Le Coq, *Chotsho.*

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[35] We place the art of Caliphate in this chapter as Iran was one of the greatest contributors of Caliph's "international" art.

[36] For a summary of the art of Islam see the chapter, "Turkey and the Art of Islam."

[37] Qusayr 'Amra, "the little palace of Amra," used as a hunting lodge, discovered by Professor Alois Musil in 1898, in the desert to the east of the northern part of the Dead Sea. See Jaussin et Savignac, *Peintures de Quasr Amra,* III (atlas), or *Kaiserliche Academie de Wissenschaften Kusijr Amra.* Also, K. A. Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, Part I, and Migeon's article in *Revue Biblique,* n.s., XI, pp. 297-298.

[38] Shiites, the followers of Ali and "the House of the Prophet" (Ali was a son-in-law and favorite pupil of Mohammed). Sunnites—orthodox, traditional sect of Islam.

[39] Jaffar was executed in consequence of slander by his enemies who could not forgive his liberal tolerance toward other faiths.

[40] Under this name are designated several Turkish ruling dynasties of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Seljuks, who traced their origin to the tribe of Ghuzz and the legendary or semi-legendary hero Oghuz, came from Turkestan in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. About the year 1037, the Empire of the Seljuks comprised the whole of Persia, although the caliph who had "placed himself under the protection" of the Seljuks, remained the nominal head of the Mussulman world and continued to reside in Bagdad.

On the art of the Seljuks in Asia Minor, see chapter on Turkey.

[41] The title "Ilkhan" was borne by the descendants and successors of Hulagu as a sign of their subordination to the Kharhan (the Great Khan of China). That dependence, however, was mostly a nominal one.

[42] There remains a copy of this work, part of which (60 pages) is now in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society, and another part (277 pages) is in the Edinburgh University library.

[43] Basil Gray, *Persian Painting*, London, 1930.

[44] Timur himself was not actually a Mongol, but belonged to a noble Turkish family from Transoxiana. See René Grousset, *Civilisation des Steppes.*

[45] Basil Gray, *op. cit.*

[46] The date of birth of Chengiz-Khan (Jenghiz-Khan) after the Chinese sources is 1167, and after the Persian sources—1155. See R. Grousset, "Empire des Steppes," pp. 638-639.

[47] Gray, *op. cit.*

[48] Mir Ali Shir Newai was a remarkable figure. He was a statesman, a poet (his poem, *String of Jewels*, is in the Bodleian Library) and a Sufi mystic. In the end, he joined the Dervish Order, Naqshbandiyya.

[49] It is possible that "Sultan Mohammed," as M. Sakisian supposes (La Miniature Persane du XII au XVII c., 1929), represents in reality two different artists: one, Shaikh Mohammed; the other, Mohammed Mumin.

[50] Published in color by the "Studio" with description by L. Binyon.

[51] Humayun, Mogul Emperor of Delhi, son of Babur, founder of the Mogul dynasty of India.

[52] It is possible that "incompleteness" was intentional as a means of expressing the most essential in the subject matter.

[53] "Agha," meaning "elder," is used also as "Elder Brother"—for "Master," perhaps father and son.

[54] This signature appears on the miniature published by Schultz.

[55] S. Katchadourian, *Exposition de Fresques Persanes à Teheran*, 1933. Also, *Persian Fresco Painting*, reconstructed by S. Katchadourian from the seventeenth century originals in Isfahan, with an introduction of A. Pope and notes by M. B. Smith, publication of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archeology, New York, 1932.

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ARABIA AND ITS OUTPOSTS: NABATAEA AND PALMYRA

Before the Coming of Mohammed

DESPITE its extensive size and central position linking Egypt, Syria-Palestine, and Mesopotamia, Arabia remains to modern historians somewhat of a mystery. Little is known about its distant past; and "what we know about it is just enough to let us understand how much we don't know."[1]

Ancient Arabian literature contains countless stories of the legendary past[2] of "Jazirat al-Arab" (The Island of the Arabs), as Arabia is called by its inhabitants, but in the task of separating the factual from the tissue of invention scholars are confronted with great difficulties.

Egyptian, Greek, and Babylonian records contain some very fragmentary information. Egyptian records mention "God's-Land" which lies in the east. In the opinion of R. P. Daugherty,[3] this term as well as the "Sea-Land" of Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, and "Tamtim, the Desert of the Sea" of the Bible, refer to a land situated in Arabia proper. Apparently it included territories on the western shores of the Persian Gulf down to the Island of Bahrein, the Island itself, and the northern part of the Arabian desert.[4] Babylonian inscriptions give a long list of the dynasties of the kings of Sea-Land. But in order to pass from the legendary to the factual, it is necessary to call in archaeology as a witness.

Until recently archaeological information was extremely scarce, and was the result of sporadic or accidental discoveries. C. M. Doughty found Stone Age settlements in northern Arabia; other settlements were found in the south by B. Thomas. Oil drillers dug into several burial mounds or tombs on Bahrein Island in the Persian Gulf. Some valuable archaeological material found was preserved, but a great part was destroyed during the course of the

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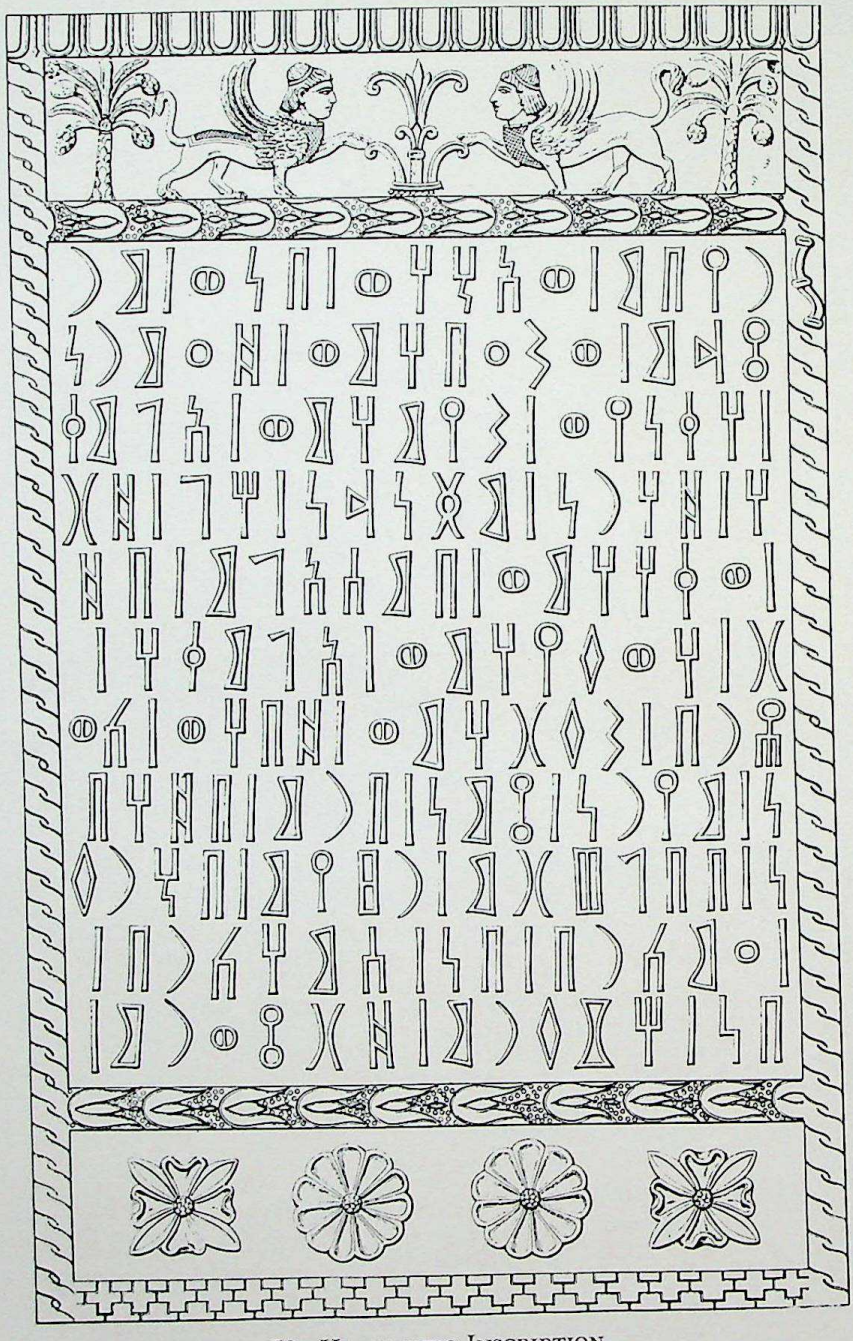

70. Himyaritic Inscription.
Courtesy of the British Museum.

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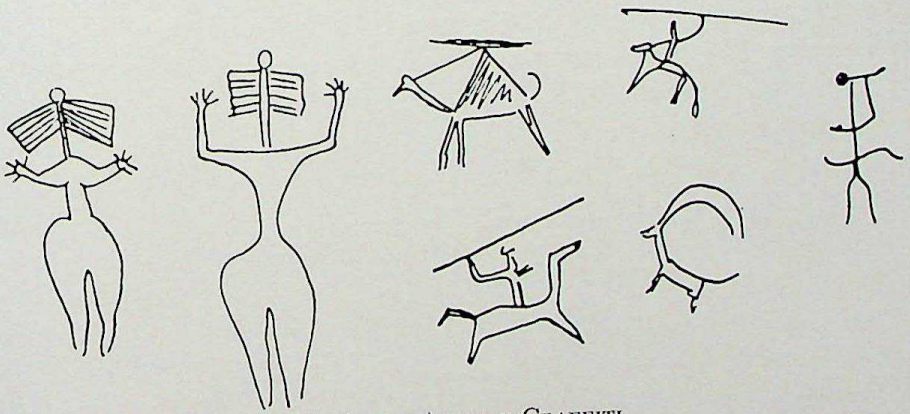
drilling.[5] At present, systematic archaeological campaigns have begun research on a large scale. There is great hope that data which will clarify ancient Arabian history will come to light. Until then ancient Arabic inscriptions will remain our main source of information. The inscriptions, as well as the imposing ruins of Arabian cities, confirm the testimony of literature that a highly developed civilization existed in Arabia at least as early as ten centuries before our era, and probably much earlier. The inscriptions, usually called "Himyaritic,"[6] mention several states which competed with one another in southern Arabia—Ma'in (Minaean Kingdom), Saba or Sheba (Sabean Kingdom), Qataban (Katabana), Hadhramaut, and Ausan.[7]

The Himyaritic inscriptions are found on many objects in stone and metal (usually alabaster and copper), as plinths, boxes, stelae, altars, statuettes and masks.[8] The objects are often decorated with ornamental motifs and figures of men and animals reminiscent of Sumero-Akkadian, Hittite and Aegean art. An important position is given to symbolic animals, griffins, lions, etc.

Some of the graffiti—as the "battle of men and snakes"—found by H. Philby in southern Arabia, are primitive and resemble Stone Age art.[9] Others are more skillfully designed. They represent human beings and animals, usually camels, lions, ibex, bulls, and



71. South Arabian Graffiti.
From: H. St. J. B. Philby, "Sheba's Daughters." Methuen & Co., Ltd. London, 1939.

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horsemen. There are difficulties in arranging them chronologically.

Southern Arabia was one of the main commercial routes between the Far and the Near East. Caravans of merchandise brought by sea from India, destined for the Mediterranean, together with south Arabian products (spices, myrrh and frankincense) were carried north along Arabia's western coast, through Petra, the caravan city in modern Trans-Jordan. Petra, the capital of the Nabataean kingdom, was situated halfway between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akabah, on the desert plateau of Edom, encircled by rocky precipitous mountains. It was a prosperous commercial city, and an important religious center. As early as the fourth century B.C., the Nabataeans, an Arabian tribe of war-like nomads, were the masters of large territories between the Euphrates and the Red Sea.[10]

The four ancient kingdoms of Trans-Jordan, Edom, Moab, Gilead and Ammon, with their Canaanite and Aramaean population, were incorporated in the Nabataean Empire. Under King Aretas (Harithas) III Philhellene (ca. 87–62 B.C.), the Nabataean Kingdom included even Damascus in Syria.

The road to Petra passed through a narrow canyon, at the end of which a temple with a façade of Corinthian columns, now called el-Khazneh—"The Treasury"—was hewn out of the living rock.[11] The enclosing mountain walls around the city were riddled with rock-cut chamber tombs presenting sculptural façades to the onlooker. The colossal temple of Ed-Deir was hewn in the rose-red sandstone of the hill "Ed-Deir" ("The Convent"). On the summit of the "Sacrificial Mound" an altar was erected; two obelisks on a terrace of this Mound were possibly representations of Nabataea's two chief deities, Dushara and Allat.[12]

In the immediate environs of Petra as in other regions of Trans-Jordan, there were many dolmens. Petra was the meeting place of many nations, and its art was a blend of the traditions of many people—Egyptian, Greco-Roman, Persian, Arabian.

After the year 73 B.C., when the Nabataean King Harithas III, who repulsed the attack of Pompey, came into direct contact with the Romans, Greco-Roman art became the predominant influence

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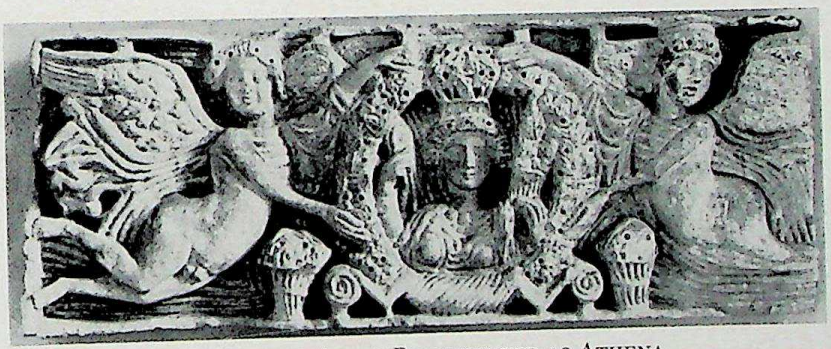
at Petra. In order to beautify his capital, Harithas sent for Syrian-Greek artists, to whom, in all likelihood, Petra owes its Hellenistic aspect. Dussaud calls the sculptures in stone of Petra, "a replica of the frescoes of Pompeii."

Nabataea's important contribution to the art of future Islam was its script derived from the Aramaean which possessed distinguishing peculiarities. The Aramaic script (ancient Phoenician) is written with the symbols of the alphabet separated from each other. In Nabataean script the written symbols are often connected. "Thus, the Nabataean script was the forerunner of the Arabic script which evolved from it through a series of successive transformations."[13]

Petra was subjugated by the Emperor Trajan in 106 A.D. and became a Roman province. Under Trajan and Hadrian it enjoyed a great period of building activity. For another century, it remained an important commercial center. The city coined its own money until the middle of the third century.



72. Goddess Allat Represented as Athena.
Nabataen Bas-relief. Cliché: Archives Photographiques, Paris.

Petra was succeeded in wealth and activity as a caravan city by Palmyra—Tadmor, as it is still called by the Arabs—which became the main caravan city west of the Euphrates. Although the Biblical tradition[14] ascribes the founding of Palmyra, "Tadmor in the Wilderness," to King Solomon, there is no doubt that it already existed in earlier times. Two Assyrian inscriptions of the twelfth century B.C. mention it as "Tadmar, which is in the land of Amurru."[15]

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Palmyra occupied a rich oasis in the Syrian desert, on the caravan road connecting the Orient with the eastern lands of the Mediterranean. It is likely that after the fall of Petra, many of its inhabitants moved to Palmyra. Despite the fact that in the first century B.C. Palmyra paid tribute to Rome, her actual independence was preserved, and Rome treated her princes as allies, and not as subjects. During the reign of Odaenathus, and his consort Zenobia, Palmyra reached the zenith of its great period. In 262 A.D. the Roman Emperor Gallienus bestowed the title of Dux Orientis upon Odaenathus. The power of Zenobia, who assumed the reins of government after Odaenathus's death in 267, spread from the Caucasus to the Lebanon desert. This beautiful young Queen, whose portraits are engraved on Palmyrean coins, was a genius in military matters and statescraft. But having embarked singly in struggle against Rome, she was finally defeated. Her army was routed by Aurelian, in 275 A.D. The city was never able to recover fully from the devastation which it suffered. However, thanks to continuing trade moving through her gates, a measure of prosperity continued for some time.

In the eleventh century, Palmyra was completely demolished by an earthquake, and never recovered from this disaster. The "Queen City of the Desert" remains only in its impressive majestic ruins.

Examples of Palmyra's sculpture and painting are found in the sepulchral towers which stand on the hills surrounding the city. The towers, set on structures like small houses, usually contain sculptured portraits of the deceased. Sometimes the portraits are painted, as on the walls of the "Tomb of Hairan." Frescoes in the tomb of Hairan, belonging to the early second century A.D., depict two full-length human figures. Their details are slightly tinted and the figures are outlined in dark brown. The faces unfortunately have been injured by Mohammedans. The eyes of the male figure were obliterated; the female has lost all facial features. On the ceiling, a spread-eagle, drawn naturalistically, is depicted. The eagle is "the bird of the sun, charged to carry souls to the star which has created them."[17]

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The mural fresco of another tomb, shows the symbol of immortality, the grapevine, overhanging the reclining figure of a youth, apparently a representation of Dionysus.[18] His crowned head is surrounded by a halo; in his hands he holds a chalice.

73. Painting from a Tomb at Palmyra.
From: article by Ingholt "Quelques fresques de Palmyre" in Acta Archaelogica, 1932.

These and other frescoes and sculptures in sepulchral towers of Palmyra form an eclectic group of art works. They are Hellenistic and Oriental at the same time.[19]

During the time of the decline of Palmyra, another pre-Islamic Arab kingdom emerged—the Ghassanid Kingdom. It was located in what is today Hauran in Syria. It was formed by the tribe of Banu-Ghassan which apparently was of South-Arabian origin. Converted to Christianity in the fourth century, they entered into the direct orbit of Byzantine influence, both ecclesiastically and politically. One of their chief cities was Basrah which possessed one of the earliest Christian churches in Hauran. The city, which

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was an important commercial post, became an ecclesiastical capital and a center of learning. Tradition informs us that Mohammed as a young man on a commercial mission visited the city and there became acquainted with Christian ideas.

NOTES

[1] Georgio Levi Della Vida, "Pre-Islamic Arabia," *The Arab Heritage,* edited by Nabih Amin Faris, 1944.

[2] Among others, we find a story, analogous to Sumerian legend, about a mysterious being, a "man-fish," who brought civilization to ancient Arabia. See R. A. Nickolson, *A Literary History of the Arabs,* 1941.

[3] R. P. Daugherty, *The Sea-Land of Ancient Arabia* (Yale Oriental Series Researches, XIX), 1932.

[4] After H. St. J. B. Philby, *The Background of Islam* (a sketch of Arabian History in pre-Islamic times), 1947.

[5] See the article by Richard Le Baron Bowen, Jr., "The Early Arabian Necropolis of Ain Jawan," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* supplementary studies, Nos. 7-9, 1950.

Also, P. B. Cornwall, "In Search of Arabia's Past," *The National Geographic Magazine,* April 1948.

[6] "Himyaritic" is a term usually employed in connection with the language and culture of ancient southern Arabia from one of whose tribes, the Himyarites, it is derived. It is assumed that the Himyaritic script stems from old Phoenician scripts. However, Philby supposes that "it can be claimed with some show of reason that the script in which the south Arabian inscriptions are written may be the original on which the Phoenician alphabet was based and therefore the mother of all the alphabetic scripts of the world." Philby, *The Background of Islam,* p. 11. See also H. Philby "South Arabian Chronology," *Le Museon,* LXII, 1949, and W. F. Albright, "The Chronology of South Arabia," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* October 1950.

[7] H. St. John B. Philby, *The Background of Islam,* 1947, gives the following dates for these five states: Ma'in—1120 B.C.-630 B.C.; Saba—800-628 B.C.; Qataban—865-540 B.C.; Ausan—620-115 B.C.; Hadhramaut—1020-290 B.C.

[8] The University of Pennsylvania has an interesting collection of one hundred pieces from the land of Saba in the south-west of Arabia by the Red Sea.

[9] See H. Philby, *Sheba's Daughters,* p. 28. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London, 1939.

[10] Pliny states that "the Nabataeans are those Arabs who adjoin Syria."

[11] Possibly it was the temple of Isis; it might have been the burial place of King Harithas III (c. 87-62 B.C.).

[12] Dushara (Dusares in Greek) was worshipped in the guise of a black rectangular stone.

[13] P. Vincent, *Les Nabateens.* See also A. Kammerer, *Petra et La Nabatene.*

[14] II Chronicles, 8:4; and I Kings, 9:18. In all probability this text refers to the city of Tama in the land of Judah (the Hebrew text of I Kings gives "Tamar," with "Tadmor" on the margin). "Palmyra" is the Greek name for Tadmor.

[15] See P. Dhorme, *Palmyre dans les Textes Assyriens.* The Amalekites of the Bible are equated with Ammurru.

[17] H. Ingholt, *Quelques Fresques Récemment Découvertes à Palmyra* (Acta Archaeologica), 1932.

[18] God of vegetation and god of wine of Greek mythology. To his cult mystic rites were connected.

[19] H. Ingholt, *Quelques Fresques Récemment Découvertes à Palmyra* (Acta Archaeologica), 1932.

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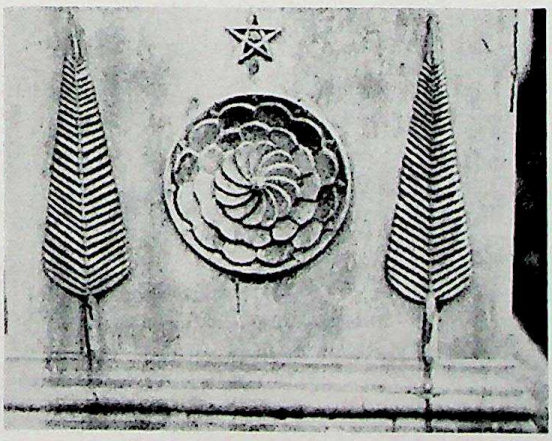
TURKEY AND THE ART OF ISLAM

THE FIRST Turkish state in Asia Minor included many Roman provinces taken by the Seljuks[1] from the Byzantine Empire. It was called "Rum" or "Roum," and in a large measure preserved Roman customs and laws. Iconium, modern Konia, became the capital of Roum, after the capture by Crusaders of Nicaea, the earlier capital of the Seljuks in Asia Minor. The city of Iconium which St. Paul had visited on his missions, was already famed through the ancient world. It was re-established by the Seljuks, who built magnificent mosques and palaces, and became one of the most beautiful cities of the medieval period. A Turkish proverb says: "See all the world, but see Konia."

Konia in the center of a vast fertile plateau, the focal point of many routes, was coveted as a prized possession. Although tradi-



74. SCULPTURED ROSACE (CLASSIC STYLE).
From: Arseven, Celal Essad, "L'Art Turc Depuis Son Origine à nos jours," published by Direction Generale de la Presse, Ministère de l'Intérieur, Istanbul, 1939.

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tion asserts that it had existed even "before the flood," little of pre-Seljuk Konya remains standing on the surface. Isolated relics, as the sculptured Hellenistic sarcophagi, now in the Museum of Istanbul, and remnants of altars, columns, engraved stones, are witnesses of the past of the city.

The Seljuk sultans were great builders; the greatest of them was Ala-ed-Din, "the Glory of Faith" (1219–1236). His name is familiar to us all from the *Arabian Nights;* and who of us, whether child or adult, has not delighted in the magic lamp with whose help the modest youth, Aladdin, erected in a single night palaces the like of which could not be found anywhere in the world. Those magic palaces undoubtedly reflected the thrill which contemporaries felt when beholding the Seljuk buildings of Konia. Fortunately some of these glories of the past have survived and are now treasured as national monuments by the modern Turkish regime.

In the reign of Ala-ed-Din, Konia was one of the greatest cultural centers in the Near East. It was a meeting place of artists and scientists, many of whom had fled from the provinces of Persia and Khwaresm when invaded by the Mongols; they found asylum in Rum under the Seljuks and participated largely in the cultural development of mediaeval Turkey.

Seljuk sultans brought artists from Persia to their court. Although the Seljuks were Moslems and presumably forbidden to create images, the art schools, *Nakkashane,* were maintained by the court as official institutions. Islamic art of the Seljuks of Konia is marked by the stamp of internationalism—thanks on the one hand to the local Greco-Roman tradition and the proximity of Byzantium, and on the other hand to the influence of the Mesopotamian School of the Caliphate. The freedom and respect which all religions and all arts enjoyed in Konia, the city of Whirling Dervishes, also attracted artists bringing with them influences from all directions. The Order of Whirling Dervishes, Mevlevi, was founded by Mevlana Jelal-ed-Din el-Rumi, a great mystic and poet, author of the famous poem, *Mathnavi.* His tomb in Konia, in the Mevlevi Order's great Tekke,[2] is still a treasured shrine.

The Mevlevi were Sufi,[3] and were liberal and tolerant. They

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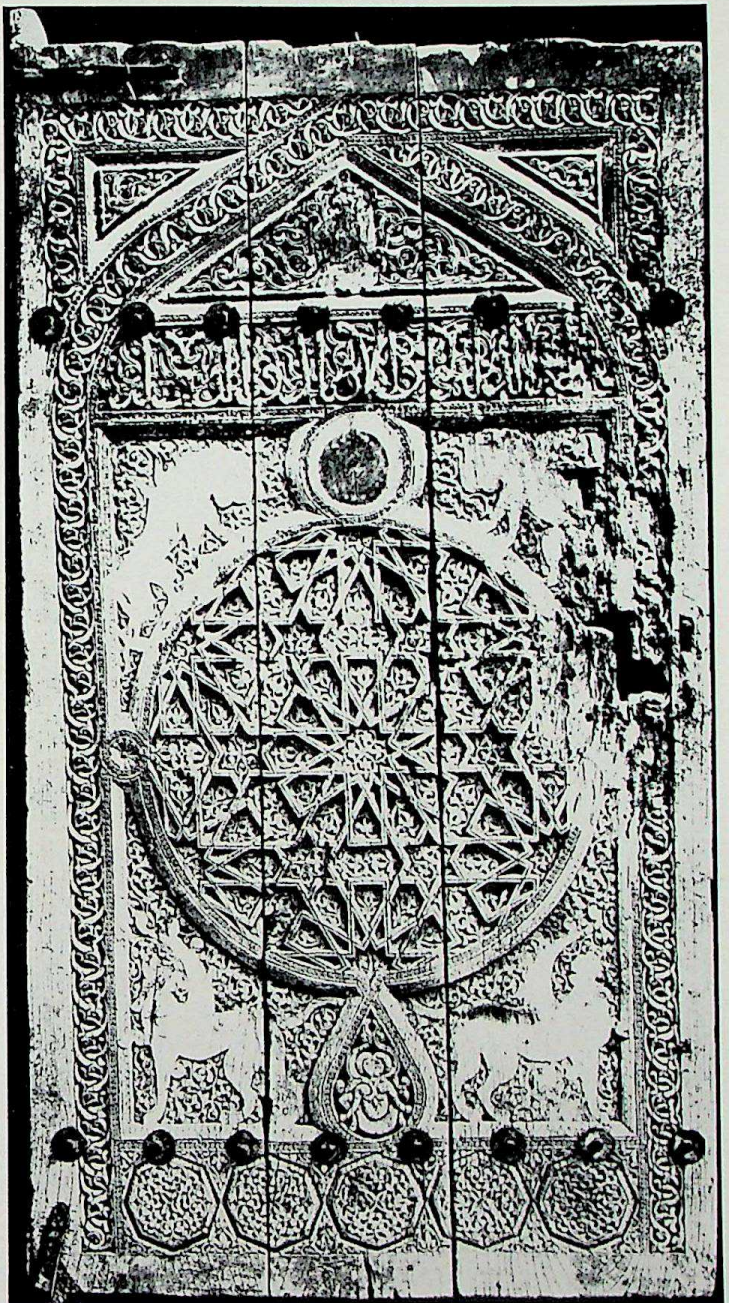

75. A Wooden Door from Karaman. Seljuk, XIII A.D. From: "Meisterwerke der Archäologischen Museum in Istanbul," by M. Ariz Ogan, Verlag von Wasler, Berlin and Leipzig.

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were friends of the arts. "Breaking the chains of fanaticism, they turned to music and rhythm to coordinate the movements of their prayers. The dervishes in their cells, devoted their lives to poetry, painting and music, rather than to theological studies. They sought God in art."[4] This was in no way contrary to the precepts of the Prophet who said: "God loves the beautiful, because he himself is beautiful."

There were many artists among the Mevlevi, including Bedreddin Tebrizi, a painter and architect who built Mevlana's tomb in Konia, Bedreddin Yavasi who painted frescoes, and Aynuddevli, who was a famous portraitist and executed several portraits of Mevlana.

As an orthodox Moslem Order, the Mevlevi enjoyed great authority and influence. "The great of this world are subject to the cap of the dervishes," states an old Turkish proverb. Both the Seljuk sultans, and the Osmanlis or Ottomans who rose to power at the beginning of the fourteenth century, had to reckon with the Mevlevi. It was the duty of Celebi Effendi, the hereditary head of the Order of Mevlevi, to "gird" with the sword of Othman (the first of the Osmanli) every new sultan of the Ottoman Empire, handing down to him, as it were, the great power bequeathed by the Prophet.

With the growing power of the Turks, the Ottoman dynasty established the capital in 1326, at Brusa. Later, when in 1453 the "sword of Othman" conquered Byzantium, Constantinople became the capital. The city of Constantine was called Istanbul. The church of Santa Sophia was re-dedicated as a mosque, and its mosaics were covered with whitewash over which Islamic abstract ornaments were painted.

Islamic pictorial art consists generally of a maze of ornament.[5]

Figures, or three-dimensional forms, have to be transformed in a peculiar way, in order to be acceptable to Moslem society. They must not show the "six directions or five senses," the prerequisite of living forms. Every representation has to be changed from the living aspect to a purely mechanical one. . . .[6]

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Decorative patterns in stone, metal, wood, and modelled stucco ornamentation cover walls, ceilings, floors and doors of buildings, and almost every object inside and outside the buildings. Polychromy, and inlay with mother-of-pearl, enamel, ivory, marble and other materials enliven every available surface of buildings, furniture, and accessories.

The characteristic geometrical rectilinear ornaments may be compared with the "solar discs" of Alaca Hoyuk. They are composed of the same geometric motifs. In Islamic art this rectilinear ornament usually appears with its "opposite"—the scroll and the spiral, components of the *arabesque;*[7] the combination of these two types of ornaments has been referred to as the "polarity" of Islamic art. "In spirit, this art has been characterized as 'polar.' Tension between curved and straight lines has perhaps never been so stressed as in classic manifestations of Islamic art."[8]

Where did the *arabesque,* the distinctive ornament of Islamic art, receive its impetus? Although the term *arabesque,* Arabian, links it with the art of the Saracens,[9] it developed chiefly under the influence of late Roman and Sassanian art; but its roots may reach into deep antiquity.

The arabesque is a motif of interlacing lines and flourishes growing usually out of, or around, one central unit. This unit may be present visually as a tree, a stem, an animal, etc.; or it may represent just a hollow in which, or around which, spread the flourishes. The repetition of the original motif, or the addition of new motifs, presents a sort of mathematical progression. Out of "one" springs "two"; out of these comes a multitude—a growing infinity. The theory which attributes the origin of the arabesque to plant forms is yielding to the theory that it had originated in animal forms, which were gradually replaced by plants. G. A. Arseven traces the arabesque to the ritualistic motifs of the Sumerians and Hittites.[10]

One of the most versatile forms of ornament is Calligraphy, "the art of spiritual geometry"—which Islamic artists and scribes developed into a fine art. According to tradition Ali himself, the favorite

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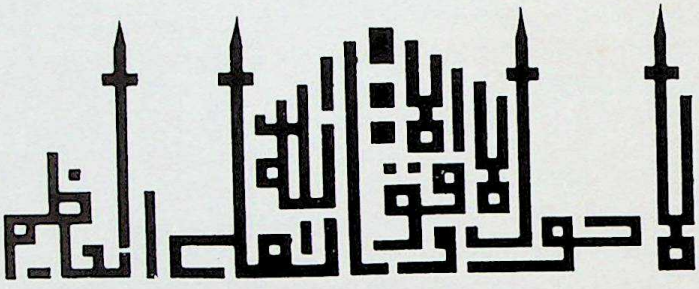
disciple and son-in-law of the Prophet, was the first calligrapher and illuminator of the Koran.

Apparently, the cursive script of Arabic calligraphy used in Mecca and Medina preceded the rectilinear Kufic script, favored under the Caliphate. In any case, as early as the first century of of Hejira[11] both the cursive and the rectangular scripts were already in use.



76. Kufic Script, Composed in Form of the Mosque with Four Minarets.
From: "Meisterwerke der Archäologischen Museum in Istanbul," by M. Aziz Ogan, Verlag von Wasler, Berlin and Leipzig.

The script most employed in the Seljuk epoch is the Nashki script, comparatively low and rounded. A highly ornamental script is the Nasta'liq,[12] which according to legend, was invented by Mir Ali of Tabriz in 1420 at the command of Ali who appeared to him in a dream and pointed out a goose as a model.

Many other ornamental scripts appeared in Arabian calligraphy. Some of them were transformed into ornament to such an extent that it is extremely difficult to read them.

With the prohibition of living figures in Islamic art, script took the place of figure. In the words of Yahya ibn Khalid the Barmecid, Persian minister of Harun-al-Rashid: "Writing is a figure. Its soul is expressiveness. Its hands are speed. Its feet are exactness, and its organs are the knowledge of spacing."[13]

Inscriptions interlaced with arabesques represent a dynamic decoration in all the arts and crafts of Islam and are used everywhere, in book binding, illuminations, the architectural adorn-

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ments, accessories of everyday use as trays, boxes, etc., and in decorations of walls in public buildings and private homes.

While it is possible, to speak of the art of Islam as a single whole, because of its adherence to the rules and traditions of the Koran, one should not exaggerate its uniformity which would reduce the art of different countries to a cut and dried formula. For each country like Persia, India, Turkey, contemporaneously expressed itself with distinctive variety.

> Arabian work, extravagantly luxuriant, often lost in detail, impresses us with the complexity of its lines and the means of its forms; Persian work, replete with decorative fantasy exalts the soul and intensifies emotional speculation; Hindu works differ from the others in the mysticism of their forms and the multitude of their flourishes which recall the luxuriant vegetation of the forests of Hindustan. Turkish work appears distinct from all others because of the simplicity of its composition, its harmoniousness and its rationalism free from every exaggeration.[14]

Simplicity and harmony mark the "classic" ornamental style of the Ottoman Empire in its heyday in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is an abstract style with "a strong mathematical undercurrent, as in music . . . hardly a hint of realism."[15] Representations of human beings and animals, which were often seen on the bas-reliefs and carvings of the Seljuks, disappear almost completely in the arabesque decoration of the classical period. The arabesque now sheds its massiveness and becomes lighter, an ornament of Ray and Scroll.

Calligraphy, the supreme art, flourished. But at the same time despite Koran prohibition against "living figures," *musavvirs*, painters of genre scenes and portraits, practiced their art.

Frequently miniature paintings embellished the leaves of books. For instance, the manuscript *Hünername*, completed in 1474, contains sixty-five minatures, among them scenes of hunting and court festivities, genre scenes and views of Istanbul.

European artists appeared at the Turkish court, especially after the conquest of Constantinople. Gentile Bellini the Venetian, was invited to Turkey by Mohammed II the Conqueror (1451–1481).

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He completed a portrait of the sultan in 1480 and also painted many portraits of Turkish dignitaries and princes.

Another portrait of Mohammed II was painted by the Turkish artist, Sinan bey, who had studied art in Venice.[16] Two European artists, Peter Goeck Van Alost and Melchior Lorck, painted portraits of Suliman I the Magnificent (1520–1566), whose reign marked the apogee of the Ottoman Empire, from life. Thus grew the familiarity with European art and increased its influence on the art of Turkey. Towards the end of the sixteenth century Western perspective appeared in frescoes, and Renaissance motifs are found in Turkish ornament.

Under Suliman's successors religious intolerance and persecution greatly reduced the number of portrait painters. The process of Europeanization continued however in decorative art. Among pictorial motifs, landscapes appeared, European in character as in the work of the "dervish Hassan." Like many other artists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Hassan was a Mevlevi. In the dark days of cultural deterioration, in a land torn by wars and religious strife, the Mevlevi preserved the living traditions of art and science.

In the nineteenth century, the Turkish artists, Tarfik Pasha and Ibrahim Pasha, wholly adopted European method and technique, studied nature, employed chiaroscuro and European perspective. The sultans themselves were often patrons of European art, and Sultan Abdul-Aziz (1861–1876) bought paintings by Meissonier, Gérôme, Boulanger, and others, for his palace.

Art, in accordance with the European system of education, became one of the subjects taught in military academies and the polytechnical schools in Turkey. Many artists went to Paris to study, among them, Ahmed Ali Pasha, Halil bey, Seyid bey, Hamdi bey. The latter became the founder of the Academy of Art in Istanbul, which opened in 1883 and "marked a new stage in Turkish painting."[17] From then on painting traversed the path of European "international" art. The Academy flourished under the influence of the French school, its followers Husain Zekai, Ismail Hakki, and Ali Riza, were pupils of Gérôme and Boulanger.

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77. A Miniature. Leaf of a Manuscript of a "History of the Ottoman Turks." XVI Century.
Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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The artist Ali Riza more than the others, preserved the link with the traditional Turkish decorative art.

Finally a reaction against the Academy set in. It expressed itself through the formation in 1908 of the "Union of Fine Arts" by a group of young painters including Burhan Toprak, Calli Ibrahim, Bursali Sefik, Feyheman, Avni Lefij and Nazmi Ziya. In general tendency, these young painters also followed Europe's lead particularly that of the impressionistic School of France.

About 1928, the "Society of Independents," with Ali, Zeki, Arif Bediw, Refic, Metat Ozar, and others made its appearance. "Group D" was the fourth to be formed, hence its name, after the fourth letter of the alphabet. It was organized by six artists, Nurallah Cemal Berk their theoretician, Abidin Dino, Bedri Rahmi, Cemal Tullu, Elif Naci and the sculptor Zuhtu, and was later joined by others. These artists worked in the European manner and were bound individually or in groups to the variety of artistic movements of France.

NOTES

[1] Seljuks of Roum, 1077-1327. Seljuk Turks crossed the Oxus river (Amu Darya) into Persia in the beginning of the eleventh century. (See footnote 39 in the chapter on Persian Art.)

[2] Tekke is a building which contains objects of reverence or worship, and also living quarters for monks, like a Christian cloister. The Great Tekke of Konia is now a museum.

[3] Sufism—a system of mysticism which originated in early Islam and became the basis of many Dervish orders. Sufi tradition asserts that the teaching was brought from Egypt by a woman, Rabia of Basra. The word Sufi is generally derived either from Sophia (wisdom), or Suf (wool—meaning "wearing woolen clothing"). The word Sufi is used in the West as a general term applied to all Moslem mystics. "Dervish," originally a Persian word meaning "beggar," became a general designation for the members of religious orders and fraternities.

[4] Celal Esad Arseven, *L'Art Turc, Depuis son Origine Jusqu'à nos Jours.* Direction Générale de la Presse, Istanbul, 1939.

[5] Although there is no doubt that the ideology of Islam impressed special characteristics upon the art of the countries conquered by the Mohammedans, it did not suppress entirely the national tradition of most of these countries. There is Indian, Persian, Turkish, etc., -Islamic Art.

We choose this Chapter on Turkey to give some general definitions of Islamic art as a whole, although the art of Mohammedan Turkey is a rather late development of Islamic art. The national Turkish tradition of pictorial art is that of nomadic tribes, and expresses itself mostly in ornamental forms. It does not, therefore, interfere with the purely Islamic artistic concepts of abstract ornamental art. A great number of the ornamental forms of Islam seem to have originated in the

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steppes and deserts of Turkestan. However, we want to add that Islamic art as a special International unit—taken in the aspect of international religion—passes the limits of our study.

[6] R. Ettinghausen, "The Character of Islamic Art," *The Arab Heritage,* edited by N. A. Faris.

[7] G. Salles gives the following definition of the word *arabesque*: ". . . the word 'arabesque' is used to designate the ornament employed in the art of Islam. This term could be restricted to the interlacings of plants, which constitute the dominant component of those decorations. But it is customary to include under the same designation the other elements combined with it, such as, ribbons, animals and personages. . . ." George Salles, "Les Arts Musulmans," in *Histoire Universelle des Arts,* publiée sous la direction de Léon Réau, Vol. 4me.

[8] Eric Schroeder, "Islamic Art" in *Encyclopedia of the Arts,* Editors, Dagobert D. Runes and Harry G. Schrickel. 1946.

[9] "Saracens"—a name deriving from a district in Sinai peninsula, which soon became a general term; all nomadic Arabs of the desert were usually called Saracens by Europeans.

[10] G. E. Arseven, *L'Art Turc.*

[11] Hijrah—"flight." The year of Mohammed's flight from Mecca (622 A.D.) was adopted as marking the beginning of the Moslem era.

[12] Both the Naskhi and the Nasta'liq are in use at the present time.

[13] A. U. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art,* III. Oxford University Press, 1938-39.

[14] Gelal Esad Arseven, *L'Art Turc, Depuis son Origine Jusqu'à nos Jours.* Publication de la Direction Generale de la Presse Istanbul, 1939.

[15] S. Chaney, *World History of Art.* Viking Press, New York, 1946.

[16] This portrait is now in the Top Kapu Saray Museum in Istanbul. Top Kapu Saray is the old residence of the Ottoman sultans.

[17] Cinquante ans de Peinture et Sculpture Turques, by Fiknet Adil in *La Turquie Kemaliste,* April, 1937.

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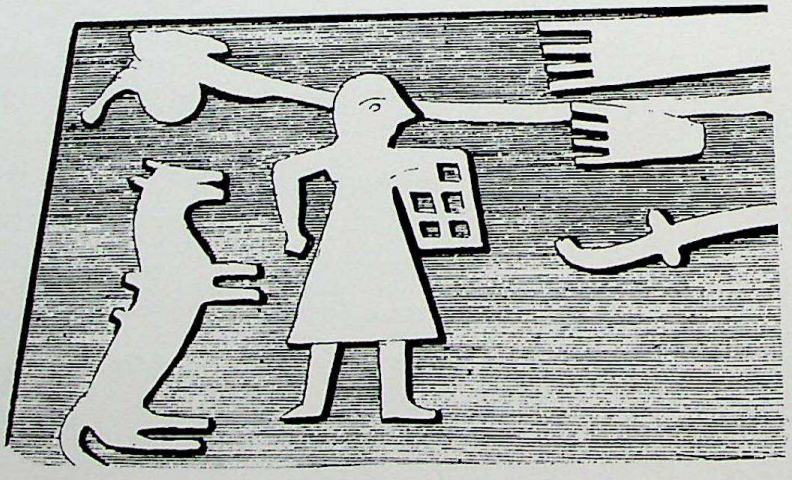
ARMENIA

Armenia through the entire course of its history has been the focal point of conflict for many nations. Through it passed the routes of communication between the European states of the Black Sea basin and the lands adjoining the Caspian Sea, as well as between the Iranian plateau, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. It was coveted by all: Assyrians, Parthians, Medes, Persians, Romans, Arabs, Turks, Russians. The rich valleys of Armenia lay open to invasion, and the peaceful agricultural population offered little resistance. They either bowed to the invaders or temporarily fled to the mountains where they found shelter with the warlike native tribes. These mountain-tribes prized liberty above everything else and did not bow to any authority; even if conquered, it was never of long duration. The country was subjected to innumerable influences, suffered many blows, but fiercely preserved its spirit of independence and the stamp of its national individuality in art.



78. A Tomb at Lori.

From: "Les Ruines d'Ani, capital de l'Arménie sous les Bagratides, aux X et XI siècles," by M. Brosset, published by Academia Imperial of Science, St. Petersburg, 1860–1861.

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During the middle of the second millennium B.C. there existed in the region of Lake Van (now on Turkish territory) a coalition of states known as Nairi, which was a mighty rival of Assyria. The most powerful of its member states was Urartu,[1] also called Uruatri and Aryarat, or Ararat of the Bible. It gave its name to the mountain on which Noah's Ark landed during the Deluge. But the inhabitants of Urartu called themselves "Chaldini," or "Chaldians," from the name of their chief Deity, Chald.

There is a cuneiform inscription on a stone from the wall of the ruined fortress which still stands above the town of Nur-Bayazet, on Lake Sewan in Armenia, which reads:

> To God Chald, the Greatest. Rusas, son of Sardur, says: The king of the land, Ielikuhi, I have vanquished, have taken him a prisoner, have taken the land into my possession, have appointed here a ruler, have built gates to the God, Chald, and a mighty fortress, naming (it) the City of the God, Chald, of the Land of Biayna the Great. . . .[2]

Biayna, the central part of Urartu was located around lake Van from which probably derived its name (Viayna).

The word "Urartu" appears for the last time in the Babylonian text of the trilingual inscription of Darius Hystaspes (521 B.C.) on the cliff of Behistun.[3] The corresponding word in the Persian text is "Armina" (Armenia). In this inscription, Urartu-Armina is mentioned as one of the provinces of Persia.

Excavations in Toprak Kale, the site of the capital of King Rusas I (ca. 714 B.C.) near Lake Van, revealed the affinity of the culture of ancient Armenia with that of the peoples of the Aegean and Mediterranean basins. The glazed ceramics of Toprak Kale resemble the Cretan ceramics of the Early Minoan period. Metal shields with representations of animals embellished the façade of the Temple of Chald in a manner reminiscent of Cretan usage.[4] Much more superficial was the influence of its closest neighbor Assyria.

In Toprak Kale many metal objects of fine workmanship were found. Urartaeans were skilled in metal craft. When pressed by the invasion of the Phrygians,[5] many Urartaeans escaped to the

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mountains, and there continued to practice their art. They were called "Chalybes, probably from the steel which they were the first to produce."[6]

Armenia's adoption of Christianity as the state religion in 301 A.D. under King Tiridates[7] oriented the culture and art of the country westward, toward the Christian world dominated by Byzantium. Armenians participated in the political life of Constantinople and rulers of Armenian origin sometimes occupied the throne of the Empire in Constantinople.[8] Although later a considerable part of Armenia's population embraced Islam during the conquest of the land by the Turks,[9] its culture and art still leaned toward Byzantium. In its turn, the complex and ancient culture of Armenia exercised a strongly Orientalizing influence upon Byzantine art forms. Strzygowsky maintains that even the Byzantine style of architecture was developed in Armenia, and he points out its influence upon the architecture of Europe of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.[10]

The architecture of Armenia is enhanced by sculptured basreliefs of figures, animals and plants, the chief decoration of the façades of churches. Elongated, highly ornamental and richly decorated crosses are a prominent feature of the sculptures of these façades; they also appear on tomb stones together with other sculptured decorations and on rectangular stone slabs placed at converging crossroads.

Monumental painting and mosaics were highly appreciated in Armenia as we know from its literature, for only scattered fragments remain. In the seventh century Vrt'anos K'ert'ogh wrote a treatise against the Iconoclasts in which he sums up the position of painting: "All that the holy scriptures relate is painted in the churches."[11] The historian, Thomas Ardzruni, in describing the wall painting in the palace of King Gagik on the Island of Aght'amar, on Lake Van, mentions the representation of a "gilt throne on which the king is seated in gracious majesty surrounded by young pages with resplendent faces, by groups of musicians and marvelous maidens. There are also groups of men with drawn swords; wrestlers fighting each other; lions and other wild animals;

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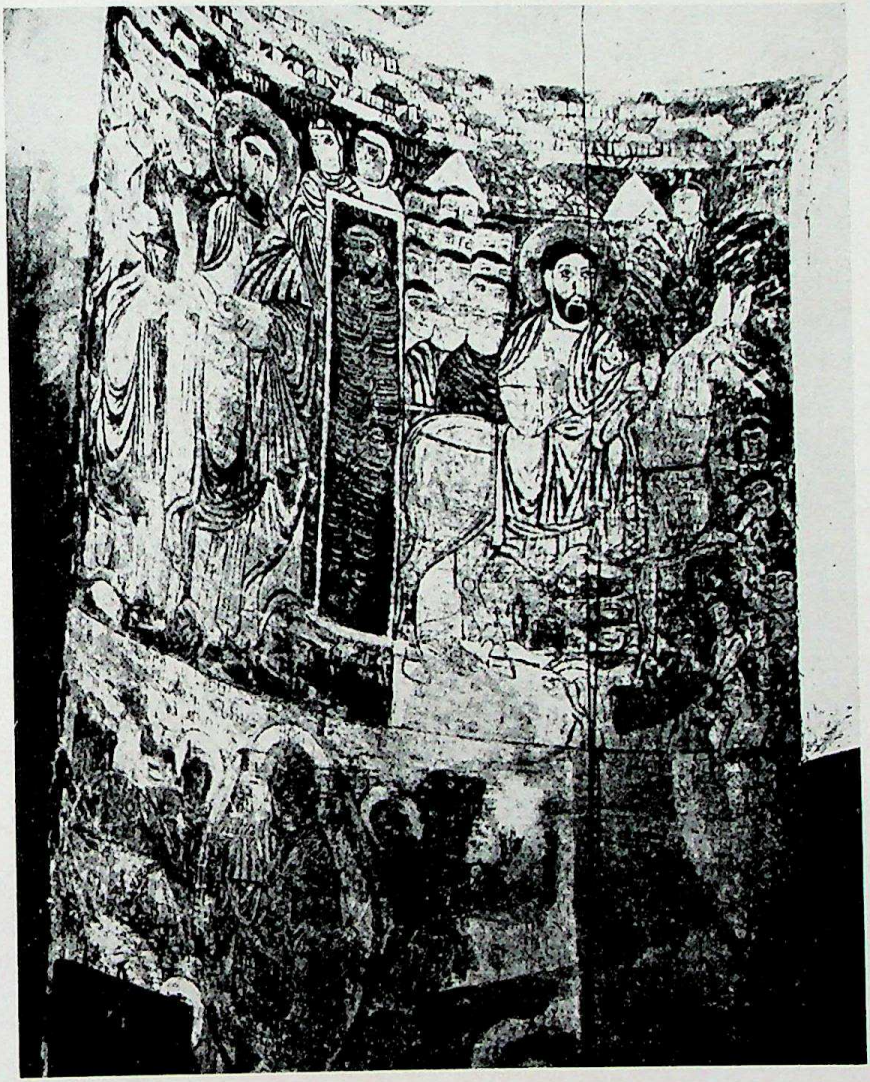

79. Wall Painting in the Church of the Holy Cross (at Aght'amar Island, Lake Van) 915–921.

From: J. Strzygowski, "Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa," Vol. I, published by Anton Schrill. Wien, 1918.

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and birds with varied plumage."[12] In the churches were wall paintings depicting the Life and Passion of Christ; some of these paintings, belonging probably to the tenth century, still are to be seen in the Church of Aght'amar. Fragments of painting remain in several seventh century churches in T'alish, T'alon, Mren, Tekor. Paintings were also found in the ruins of Ani, "the City of Thousand-and-one Churches" which was Armenia's capital in the tenth and eleventh centuries, during Bagratid dynasty.

If little remains of Armenia's monumental mural painting we are fortunate in having excellently preserved examples of its miniature paintings, for the small transportable manuscript could easily be hidden and had a better chance to survive the ravages of war. Richly decorated Armenian manuscripts, usually of the Four Gospels, are preserved. The earliest among them belong to the ninth century.

By the tenth century Armenian manuscript painting had reached a high point of development. Two artistic styles, reflecting two tendencies, are distinguishable: the first is connected with Greco-Byzantine tradition, the second with the cultures of the Orient, Syria, Sassanian Persia, and Central Asia.

The Etchmiadzin Gospel of the year 989, is an example of the first tendency; and the Gospel of the year 966 in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore is a good example of the second, Orientalizing style of the Armenian manuscripts. However, whether one or the other tendency prevails, both are usually present in Armenian manuscripts, often harmoniously blended together. Animal motifs traceable to Oriental art, geometric patterns, and lively floral motifs, appear together in ornate compositions. In some instances figures of the Apostles and Saints were added.

Armenian ornament no doubt exercised a strong orientalizing influence on Byzantine art. It is through the work of Armenian artists that many oriental, especially Sassanian, motifs and forms reached Byzantium, and, later, Mediaeval Europe.

Manuscript art in Armenia reached its apogee in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, during the lifetime of two celebrated miniaturists, T'oros of Taron (who worked in the monastery of

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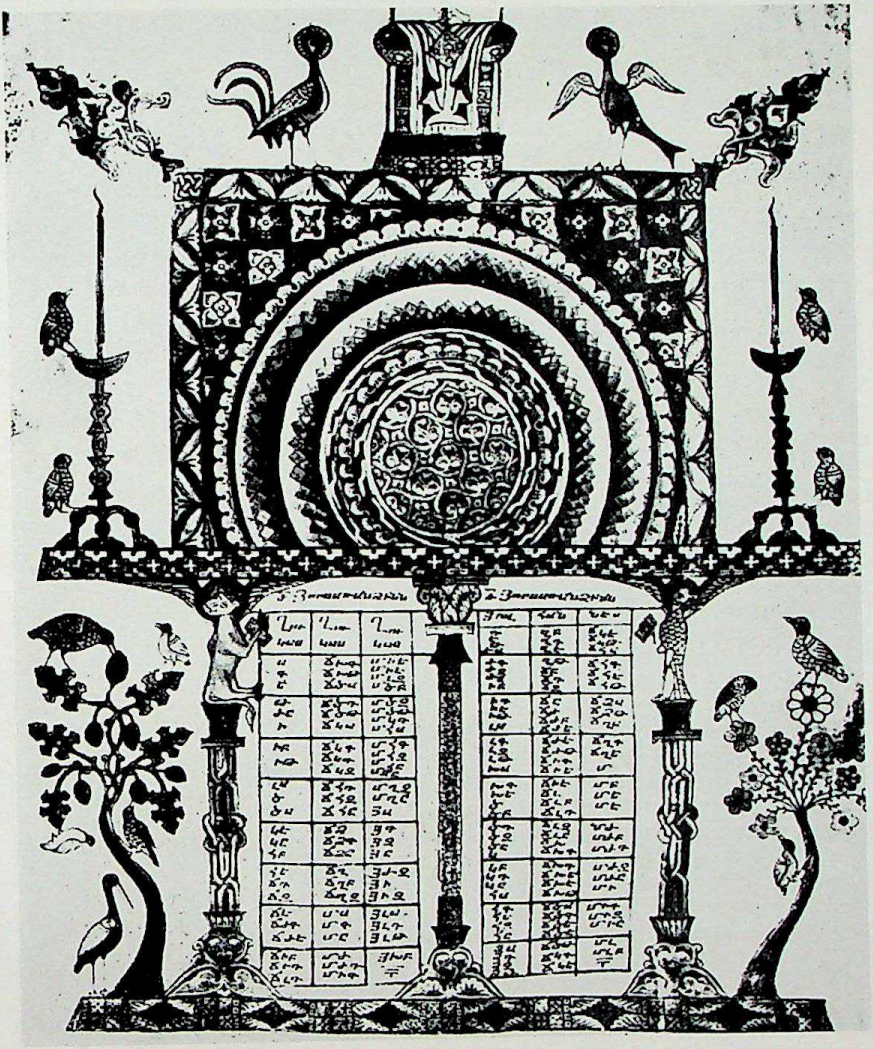

80. Canon Table.
Courtesy of Frick Art Reference Library.

Gladsor in Siunik Province) and Sargis Pidzak from Cilicia.

When, about the middle of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman power overtook Armenia, many of her artists left the country. While these Armenian artists carried their art abroad, to Northern Persia, or to the European countries, in turn their work was influenced by Western art.

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European tendencies began to penetrate into Armenia. Copies and imitations of European paintings and etchings began to appear and Armenian art passed through a phase of Europeanization, shared by every Asiatic nation at one time or another to a greater or lesser degree.

Contemporary Armenian artists, like M. Sarian, A. Mamadzhanian, A. Kodjoian, and others, participate in and contribute to the art of the European international school of the twentieth century. The majority of the artists of Armenia, a Republic of the Soviet Union since 1920, belong to this movement.

NOTES

[1] In ancient Assyrian and Urartaean inscriptions, the name "Urartu" is often applied to Nairi in its entirety, which allows us to conclude that it exercised a hegemony over the whole coalition. The Urartaeans were, like the Hittites with whom they had a great deal in common, a non-Aryan people of the "Armenoid" type. Apparently, they had come from the West. Later, they became mixed with Indo-European tribes, the Phrygians, who came from Asia Minor, and the Cimmerians who invaded Urartu through the mountain defiles of the Caucasus about 714 B.C. Thus the modern Armenian came into existence.

[2] B. Piotrovsky, *Urartu, Drevneishee Gosudarstvo Zakavkazia*, Leningrad, 1939.

[3] See Chapter on "Persian Art."

[4] Many decorative and symbolic motifs of the Urartaeans also correspond to the motifs of archaic art of Greece, as well as the Etruscans. For instance, legs of the candelabrum found at Toprak Kale are composed of heads of animals from whose mouths grow the members of other animals. This "zoomorphic juncture" is a characteristic of the art of Urartaeans and Etruscans. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, article on Urartu in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition, 1929, p. 891.

[5] The Phrygians, "Freemen," as the Greeks called them, were in the ninth century B.C. the masters of the Aegean sea. Greek traditions assert that they came from Macedonia and Thrace.

[6] C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *op. cit.*

[7] King Tiridates was converted to Christianity by Gregory the Illuminate in the end of the third century. Armenia was the first country which, in place of Zoroastrianism imported under Persian rule, established Christianity as the state religion. In this act, Tiridates anticipated Constantine.

[8] Thus, the rulers of the "Macedonian" dynasty of the ninth century were of Armenian origin.

[9] Arabs conquered Armenia for the Caliphate in 654; the Seljuk Turks, in 1064 (the fall of Ani); the Ottoman conquest took place about the middle of the sixteenth century.

[10] Strzygowsky, *Di Baukunst Der Armenier Und Europa*. Vienna, 1918.

[11] It is interesting to note that the Armenian Church had its own iconoclasts long before Byzantium. See Sirarpie Der Neresessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, p. 110 f., and the foreword to that book by Henri Gregoire.

[12] *Ibid.*

State Museum,
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BYZANTIUM

Rome of the East

THE CITY of Byzantium on the Hellespont was founded by Greek colonists in the eighth century B.C. Although located on the European side of the Bosphorus, its life, history, and culture were closely related to the Asiatic shore.[1]

Byzantium was chosen as the capital of the new Christian State by Constantine the Great, in 330.[2] To the glory of God, Constantine and his heirs inaugurated great building projects in this new capital, which was renamed Constantinople (referred to as the New Rome). They gathered works of art from Europe, Africa, and Asia, and the city became the meeting ground of influences from the East and the West.

The final division of the Roman Empire into western and eastern sections, with two capitals—Rome and Constantinople, took place in 395. In 475 A.D., when the northern barbarians sacked and captured Rome, Constantinople became "The New Rome," the only capital of the Roman-Byzantine Empire.

Christianity gave a new and powerful impetus to the art of Byzantium, the first Christian Empire. The formative period of the Byzantine style of art covered about two hundred years (300–500) under the influence of Greco-Roman art on the one hand, and under the Orientalizing influences of the art of Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Persia, and Egypt, on the other.[3] The best examples of this early Christian art are still to be found in Europe in the early mosaics of Rome and Ravenna. Few mosaics and paintings of this period survived in Asia: some paintings of a third century chapel in Dura Europos, a few mosaics of the fourth to sixth centuries in churches of Gerasa (Jerash) in Trans-Jordan and in the sixth century monastery of Beisan.

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Historians indicate three epochs in the flowering of Byzantine art: "First Golden Age" (Early Byzantine) about 500–700; "Second Golden Age" (Mid-Byzantine) about 900–1200, set apart from the first period by the iconoclastic controversy; and the third, the so-called "Byzantine Revival" (Late Byzantine) about 1200–1400.

The "First Golden Age" came to culmination in the reign of Justinian (527–565) and the construction of the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople in 537. This period may be designated as "Orientalizing" since at that time Egyptian, Phoenician, Hebrew-Syrian, and Persian influences predominated over the Greco-Roman in Byzantine painting and mosaics. Mosaics, "painting with stone cubes, an art made for Eternity," became the favored medium of Byzantine artists. Tesserae, the small cubes in colored stone, terra-cotta, and glass had already been used in the late Hellenistic mosaics,[4] principally on floors;[5] the Byzantine artists applied them also to walls, arches, and ceilings. Mosaic murals became the great art form in the Christian Church. The nature of the material for use in mosaic tends to discourage realism and is much more conducive to the rendering of the stark essentials of the concept. This conformed to the spirit of Byzantine art, which aimed at stimulating contemplation and prayer,[6] without the distractions of unessential details. Unfortunately the image-bearing panels were destroyed during the iconoclastic controversy and we are able to judge the beauty of the painting and mosaics of Justinian's age only by the examples existing in Europe.[7]

The campaign of the Iconoclasts ("breakers of images") began during the first half of the eighth century, and with it the "First Golden Age" of Byzantine art came to an end. A contemporary chronicler complains that mosaics were broken and destroyed; and those painted with the help of colored wax were obliterated; and "all beauty departed from the Churches." Soon new mosaics and frescoes appeared in churches, which showed so many flowers, animals, trees and birds that a church began (the chronicler continues) to resemble "an orchard and a bird sanctuary." But although the iconoclastic period is devoid of religious images, it is

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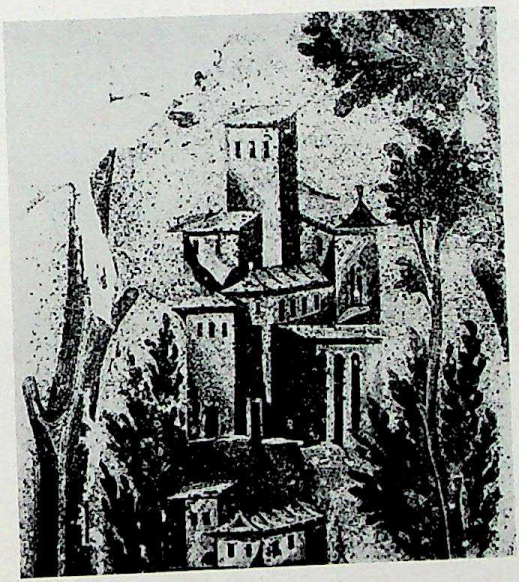
not lacking in monuments of art. Superb works by Byzantine artists—mosaics representing architectural landscapes, strongly Oriental in style,[8] were preserved in Damascus, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem.

The struggle between the iconoclasts and the defenders of images lasted for more than a hundred years, from 726 to 843, and ended with the defeat of the iconoclasts. In 787, the seventh Ecumenical Council acknowledged the desirability of images, and in 843, Empress Theodora, widow of Theophilus, restored the free use of images in religious decoration. The Church Fathers decreed that "Mute painting talks on the wall and does much good [St. Gregory of Nyssa]. What speech presents to the ear, mute painting likewise indicates through imitation [St. Basil]."



81. Decorative Landscape Mosaic from the Omayyad Mosque at Damascus. Beginning of VIII Century.
From: Otto Demus, "Byzantine Mosaic Decoration," Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1948.

During the iconoclastic controversy the political map of the world underwent many changes. The Empire of the Caliphs, in-

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augurated by Mohammed in the name of Allah, grew and became a serious rival of the Byzantine Empire. The Caliphate had already seized Palestine, Syria and Egypt. This separation of the eastern provinces from the body of the Byzantine Greco-Roman world resulted in the weakening of Oriental influences in Byzantine art.

The second, or middle, period of Byzantine art is generally characterized by the predominance of the Alexandrian or Hellenistic style. A great factor contributing to this perpetuation of Greek influence was the capture of Alexandria by the Arabs in 640 A.D., when many Alexandrian artists transferred their activities to Constantinople and Asia Minor, as well as to other Byzantine centers. The growth of Greek influence in Byzantine art expressed itself in "humanizing" its forms. The human figure, the chief interest of Greek art, began to attract attention regardless of the aims of the church. Landscape appeared and began to acquire life, gradually

82. Wall Painting of the New Church, at Toqale Kilisse in Cappadocia, Second Part of X Century A.D.

From: C. Diehl, "Peinture Byzantine," Editions G. van Oest, Paris, 1933.

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replacing the abstract gilded background. Chiaroscuro giving greater plasticity, came into use.

The Oriental element, however, persisted and was very strong in Cappadocia, Asia Minor, where an influential school of art existed in the 9th and 10th centuries. Examples of this influence are the paintings "in crude but vigorous style"[9] in the churches of Qaranleq and Qeledjlar, 9th century; and of two churches at Toqale, 10th century.

Notwithstanding the influence of Alexandrian art, the Oriental features are marked in the monumental mosaics of St. Sophia in Constantinople.[10] When the thick layers of Turkish plaster, which covered the mosaics, were removed the majestic figures came to light: white robed St. Ignatius and St. John Chrysostom stand against the glittering background of gold tesserae (the slightly undulating wall surface, together with the addition of silver tesserae accentuate the glittering effect of the background). The artists who created these mosaics are not known; Thomas Whittemore supposed that they were the product of a group of men who worked "in orchestral anonymity."[11] These mosaics, belonging to the 9th century, are examples of the "monumental style" of the Second Golden Age of Byzantine art.

While the Arab conquests removed vast areas from the sphere of Byzantine influence, Russia, an immense and complex state in Eastern Europe, was added to it. In the year 988 she embraced Christianity in its Greek Orthodox form. In Russia, the Balkans, and Armenia Byzantine religious art took root, spread and flourished with colorful individuality. As a part of Christian church life and ritual, Russia adopted the icon,[12] which became one of the basic features of her school of painting.

Religious art bases itself upon tradition and dogma much more than does secular art, which is more flexible and dependent on individual experiences of the artist. One of the dangers in art of excessive fidelity to dogma is lapsing into mechanical repetition and imitation, which may result in loss of imagination, stultification and aridity.

This threat began to appear in some Byzantine works of art in

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83. The Mother of God. Byzantine, XII-XIV Century. Highia Sophia, Istanbul. Replica by George Holt.

(Dick Fund, 1943). Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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the tenth to the twelfth centuries. But so great were the creative powers of Byzantium that a renaissance proved possible. The new art, the new style appeared in the thirteenth century and marked the third great period of Byzantine art.

Miniature painting, more free from the pressure of dogma, served in large measure as a laboratory in which the new style (later finding full expression in the monumental art of Kahrieh Djami) came into existence.

Miniature painting in Byzantium generally followed the same evolution as monumental painting and passed through the same periods under the influence of Greco-Roman and Oriental art. For instance, Hellenistic tendencies prevail in the illustrations of the Calendar of the year 354,[13] or in the Genesis of Vienna belonging to the Vth century. Oriental influences are predominant in Syriac Gospels as the famous Rabula Gospel,[14] or the Etchmiadzin Gospel.

The art of the Third Period (the "Revival" or late Byzantine style), flourished from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the sixteenth centuries. Freedom in the treatment of the human body, and the garb; the appearance of landscape, and a striving for greater expressiveness and realism became the leading characteristics. The artist began to look at life and nature, and to apply his newly-acquired knowledge in his creations.

Great examples of this period[15] are the remarkable mosaics of Kahrieh Djami, once the church of the monastery of Chora in Constantinople. When discovered, it was thought that they had been executed by Italian artists, for "it seemed impossible to attribute this elegance in composition, this brightness of colors, this fine . . . grace of the faces to Byzantine art."[16] But it was later recognized that these "Italianate" features, although possibly reflecting the influence coming from abroad, harmonized with a tendency toward realism already present in Late Byzantine art. The theory of interference of foreign artists was therefore abandonded. Kahrieh Djami was the last of the great monuments of Byzantine mosaics. The mosaic became rarer, soon disappeared almost entirely, and was replaced by frescoes. Some paintings exist

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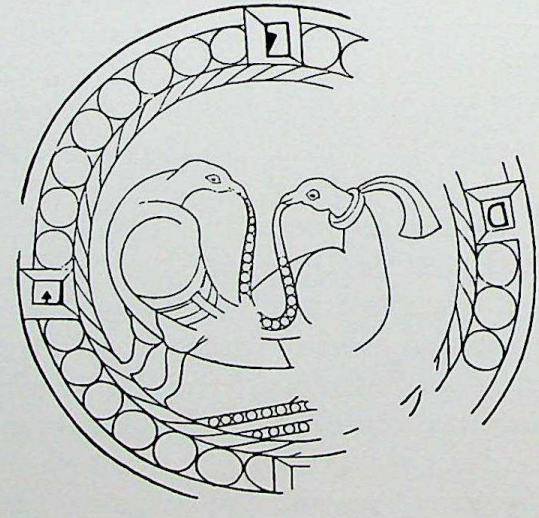
also in Kahrieh Djami,[17] but most of the contemporary paintings of this period are to be found in Europe.[18]

Schools of Byzantine art flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Greece proper, Macedonia, Crete, and Bulgaria, Serbia, Rumania. Two great painters of the sixteenth century, Theofanos of Crete and Panselinos of Macedonia, are thought to be the authors of several treatises on painting which may have been used at the composing of the *Guide for Painting*, written by Dionysius of Fourna, a monk of Mount Athos, in the early eighteenth century.[19] The famed monastery of Mount Athos in Greece preserved the spirit of Byzantine art long after the Ottomans conquered Constantinople and tolled the death knell of its schools of arts.

Yet the fall of Constantinople did not mark the end of Byzantine art which for many centuries before had sunk deep roots into European soil. Its ideas and traditions echoed and spread throughout the whole Christian world. In Italy one of the main roots for the great efflorescence of the Renaissance art was the Byzantine.



84. Doves Holding a String of Pearls. Painting from Bamian, Afghanistan.

From: "Bamian," by Joseph & Ria Hackin. Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, Paris, 1939.

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A fruitful branch of the same tradition in Eastern Europe was manifested in the creations of Russian art from the tenth to the seventeenth centuries.[20]

The remarkable vitality of Byzantine art arose from the harmonious union and sensitive balance between the many-faceted traditions of the far-flung East and of the Greco-Roman classical West.

NOTES

[1] Byzantine art has a definite and important place in the development of the arts in Asia. In a general book on Asian art much of the material would remain incomprehensible without a chapter dealing with the ideology and forms of art of the "Rome of the East." We confine this brief study, however, to Constantinople itself and to the Asiatic shores. We wish it to be noted that we treat this subject along general lines.

[2] Constantine embraced Christianity and by the Edict of Milan in 313 he proclaimed complete religious tolerance throughout the Empire.

In his choice of Byzantium for the capital of the Empire, Constantine followed the policy of Diocletian. When, by Diocletian's reforms (in 287 and 293) the responsibilities of government were divided among four rulers to each of whom was assigned a part of the Empire with his own capital, Diocletian chose for himself the Eastern Provinces, with Nicomedia in Asia Minor for his capital, thus emphasizing the importance of the East for the Empire.

[3] The art of Antioch in Syria, although Hellenistic in subject and partly in style, was nevertheless strongly Oriental in conception, as we can see from the mosaics of Antioch. These mosaics, together with Hebrew decorative art motifs (can be seen in some examples in the Christian catacomb paintings in Rome) and the Egyptian mummy-panels, played the major role in the orientalization of western Mediterranean art. See R. R. Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch,* and the record of the excavation campaigns, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes I (1934) and II (1938)*, by Princeton University in collaboration with the Musées Nationaux de France, and later with Fogg Museum of Art.

[4] This type of mosaic, known as Opus Alexandrinum, evidently indicates that Alexandria was a great center of its production or distribution.

[5] Mosaics generally used for the Roman floors, of the type called Opus Sectile, were made of large colored marble pieces. For Byzantine mosaics, see Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration,* 1948.

[6] However, secular art existed in Byzantium, although only a few examples of it have reached us. Representations of imperial ceremonies probably occupied an important place in the art. Also, judging by the testimony of literature, family portraits were well known. Mosaic floor-panels were also used. In the latter, the sacred pictures were replaced by compositions with allegorical or mythological subjects and ornaments. Among the ornamental motifs in use was the "rinceau" (running scroll), acanthus, and its later variation—the vine, beloved by the Romans.

[7] The best known examples are the famous mosaics of the sixth century in the San Vitale Church in Ravenna. The miniature paintings (as the miniatures of Genesis manuscript of the fifth century in Vienna) also furnish examples of contemporary styles of painting.

[8] See Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration,* p. 51. 1948.

[9] D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting,* Avalon Press, 1948.

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[10] Since the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 by the Ottomans, and till 1932, the great Church of St. Sophia, now a museum, was used as a mosque, and her mosaics were covered with plaster. The work of uncovering and restoration was conducted by the Byzantine Institute in 1940, after obtaining permission of the Turkish Government. See William MacDonald, "The Uncovering of Byzantine Mosaics in Haghia Sophia," *Archaeology*, June, 1951.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] The icon is a form of mobile painted panel or mosaic which Byzantine artists developed. Its origin may be traced to Egyptian mummy-portraits of the Hellenistic epoch. (See D. Talbot Rice, "Byzantine Painting," 1948, p. 4.)

The word "icon" which means "image" in Greek was applied to a representation of a holy person. If deified, an image becomes an idol, the making and worship of which the Second Commandment forbids. But if only revered and respected, it serves as a "reminder," or a door leading to the spiritual world of prayer and contemplation. The Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787 specified very clearly that "images should be venerated, but not adored." Accepted in this sense the icon acquires deep significance.

[13] The earliest known Byzantine manuscript, executed in Rome by an Oriental artist.

[14] It was executed in 586 by Rabula, a monk in the monastery of Zagba in Mesopotamia. C. Diehl, *Manuel de l'art Byzantin*. 1926.

[15] C. Diehl indicates the date 1310-1320 for the most part of mosaics of Kahrieh Djami.

[16] C. Diehl, Manuel de l'art Byzantin, vol. I, p. 800.

[17] These paintings are sometimes attributed to a great master, Theophanos. This artist ("Theophanos the Greek" as he was later known in Russia where he went in the last quarter of 14th century) became the teacher of a great Russian painter, Andrew Rublev. The famous Icon by Rublev, "The Trinity," is now in the Tretiakov Gallery in Moscow.

[18] In Serbia, frescoes dated about 1250 in the monastery of Sopocani; in Bulgaria at Boana near Sofia, frescoes dated 1259; in Greece, frescoes of 14th and 15th centuries in the churches of the Pantanassa and the Perileptos in Mistra in the Peloponnesus.

[19] *The Guide for Painting*, discovered at Mount Athos in 1839, represents a collection of technical recipes and rules of iconography. The date and history of its writing are still controversial, as well as the date of the "mysterious" Manuel Panselinos of Macedonia, whose work was studied by his great admirer, Dionysius of Fourna in Thessalonica. See Charles Diehl, *Manuel de l'art Byzantin*, volume II, pp. 854 and 855.

[20] In Russia, Byzantine art flourished since the adoption of Christianity in the tenth century until the end of the seventeenth century when western influences overflowed Russia during the reign of Emperor Peter the Great (at that time Russian history and with it Russian art—"turned toward the west").

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ASIA

Arctic Ocean
Franz Josef Land
Severnaya Zemlya
Svalbard
Barents Sea
Kara Sea
Laptev Sea
East Siberian Sea
New Siberian Islands
Novaya Zemlya
Wrangel Is.
Siberia
Europe
U. S. S. R.
Yeniseysk
Minusinsk
Irkutsk
L. Baikal
ALTAI
Urga
MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
Sea of Okhotsk
Bering Sea
Attu
Aleutian Is.
Sakhalin Is.
Kuril Is.
L. Balkhash
Aral Sea
Caucasus
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
ARMENIA
Istanbul
Ankara
TURKEY
Konya
Khiva
Bukhara
Samarkand
SINKIANG
Turfan
Gobi
Ordos
Sea of Japan
Pyongyang
Seoul
KOREA
Kyoto
JAPAN
Tokyo
Pacific Ocean
Peiping (Peking)
L. Koko Nor
Yarkand
Tabriz
Tehran
Kerat
Kabul
Terablus
Cyprus
Crete
LEB.
SYRIA
IRAQ
ISRAEL
Jerusalem
Damascus
Baghdad
IRAN
AFGHANISTAN
Harappa
TIBET
Lhasa
Kyushu Is.
Nanking
Shanghai
Ryukyu Is.
JORDAN
Basra
Isfahan
Persian Gulf
Baluchistan
Rajputana
Himalaya Mts.
NEPAL
BHUTAN
PAKISTAN
Sind
Delhi
Benares
Calcutta
PAK.
BURMA
Pagan
FRENCH
Canton
Hong Kong
TAIWAN (FORMOSA)
Medina
SAUDI ARABIA
Mecca
Red Sea
YEMEN
ADEN
Hadramut
OMAN
Arabian Sea
Gujarat
Ajanta
INDIA
Hyderabad
Bay of Bengal
Madras
CEYLON
Indian Ocean
Africa
THAILAND
Annam
INDO-CHINA
Angkor
South China Sea
PHILIPPINES
Mariana Is.
Guam
Caroline Is.
Marshall Is.
Gilbert Is.
MALAYA
SUMATRA
Palembang
CELEBES
BORNEO
NETH. NEW GUINEA
TERR. OF NEW GUINEA
PAPUA
INDONESIA
JAVA
Bali
Arafura Sea
Solomon Is.

Gerard L. Alexander

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